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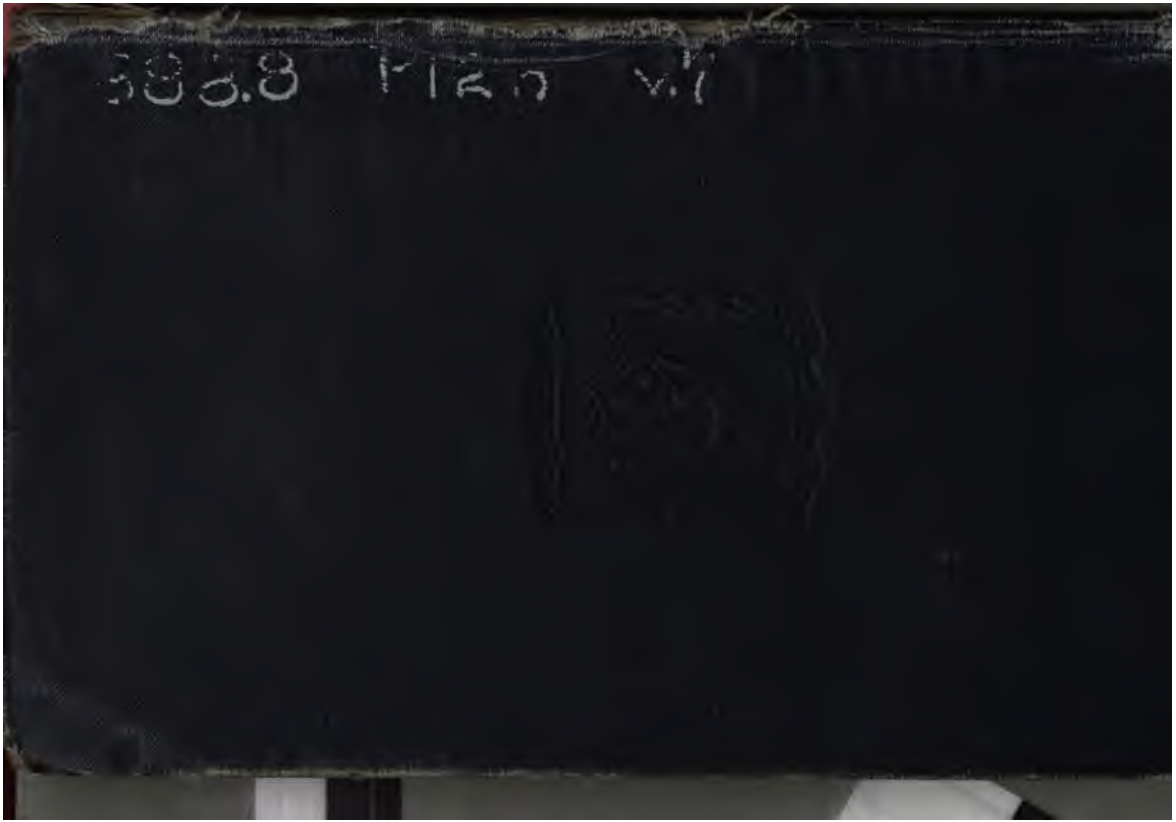
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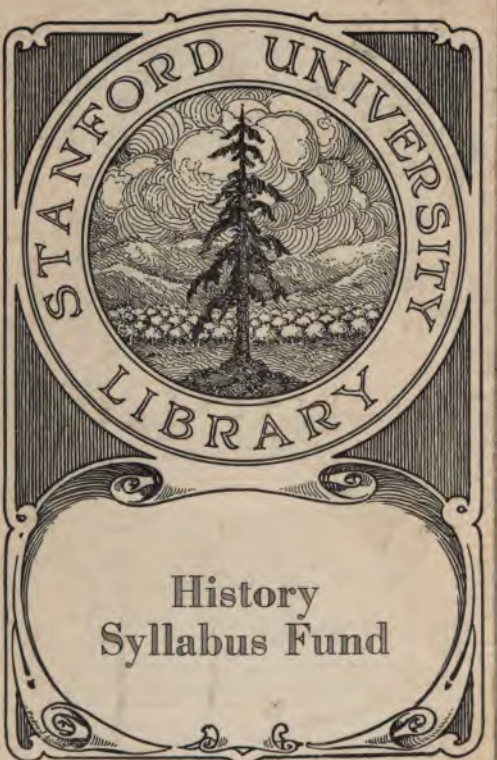

History
Syllabus Fund

PLUTARCH'S LIVES ENGLISHED BY SIR THOMAS NORTH IN TEN VOLUMES VOL. SEVEN

·MDCCCXCIX·PUBLISHED · BY·J·M·DEN
·AND·CO: ALDINE·HOUSE·LONDON·W·

THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKS AND ROMANS

The most of them compared together by that grave learned Philosopher and Historiographer Plutarch of Chæronea

THE LIFE OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

The author's aim

HAVING determined in this volume to write the life of King Alexander, and of Julius Cæsar, that overcame Pompey: having to speak of many things, I will use none other preface, but only desire the readers not to blame me though I do not declare all things at large, but briefly touch divers, chiefly in those their noblest acts and most worthy of memory. For they must remember, that my intent is not to write histories, but only lives. For, the noblest deeds do not always shew men's vertues and vices, but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport makes men's natural dispositions and manners appear more plain, than the famous battels won, wherein are slain ten thousand men, or the great armies, or cities won by siege or assault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no account of other parts of the body, do take the resemblances of the face and favour of the countenance, in the which consisteth the judgement of their

The parentage of Alexander

manners and disposition: even so they must give us leave to seek out the signs and tokens of the mind only, and thereby shew the life of either of them, referring you unto others to write the wars, battels, and other great things they did. It is certain that Alexander was descended from Hercules by Caranus, and that of his mother's side, he came of the blood of the Æacides Neoptolemus. They say also, that King Philip his father when he was a young man, fell in fancy with his mother Olympias, which at that time also was a young maiden, and an orphan without father or mother, in the Isle of Samothrace, where they were both received into the mystery and fraternity of the house of the religious: and that afterwards, he did ask her in marriage of her brother Arymbas, with whose consent they were married together. The night before they lay in wedded bed, the bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, and that withal, there was a great light fire that dispersed it self all about into divers flames. King Philip her husband also, shortly after he was married, dreamed that he did seal his wife's belly, and that the seal wherewith he sealed, left behind the print of a lion. Certain wizards and soothsayers, told Philip that this dream gave him warning to look straightly to his wife. But Aristander Telmesian answered again, That it signified his wife was conceived with child, for that they do not seal a vessel that hath nothing in it: and that she was with child with a boy, which should have a lion's heart. It is reported also, that many times as she lay asleep in her bed, there was seen a serpent lying by her, the which was the chiefest cause (as some presuppose) that withdrew Philip's love and

kindness from her, and caused him that he lay not so oft with her, as before he was wont to do: either for that he feared some charm or enchantment, or else for that he thought himself unmeet for her company, supposing her to be beloved of some god. Some do also report this after another sort: as in this manner. That the women in those parts of long time, have been commonly possessed with the spirit of Orpheus, and the divine fury of Bacchus, whereupon they are called Clodones, and Mimallones (as much as warlike, and fierce) and do many things like unto the women of Edonia, and Thrace, dwelling about the mountain Hæmus. Hereby it appeareth, that this word *threskeuein* (signifying in the Greek tongue, too superstitiously given to the ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For Olympias above other women, loving to be inspired with such divine madness and fury: did celebrate their solemn sacrifices with a certain horrible and barbarous manner. For in these dances to Bacchus, she carried a great number of tame snakes about her, the which gliding upon the ivy wherewith the women were dressed in those ceremonies, and winding themselves about the little javelins they had in their hands, and the garlands about their heads: thereby they made men the more afraid of them. Whereupon Philip after this dream, sent Chæron Megalopolitan unto the oracle of Apollo at Delphes, to inquire what it signified. Answer was given him, that he should do sacrifice unto Jupiter Ammon, and honour him above all gods: and that he had lost one of his eyes, with the which he peeping in at a cranny of his chamber door, saw the god in form of a snake lie by his wife. Furthermore, Olympias (as Eratо-

Olympias' dream and the serpent

Alexander's stature and personage

Now for his stature and personage, the statues and images made of him by Lysippus do best declare it, for that he would be drawn of no man but him only. Divers of his successors and friends did afterwards counterfeit his image, but that excellent workman Lysippus only, of all other the chiefest, hath perfectly drawn and resembled Alexander's manner of holding his neck, somewhat hanging down towards the left side, and also the sweet look and cast of his eyes. But when Apelles painted Alexander, holding lightning in his hand, he did not shew his fresh colour, but made him somewhat black and swarter, than his face indeed was: for naturally he had a very fair white colour mingled also with red, which chiefly appeared in his face and in his breast. I remember I read also in the commentaries of Aristoxenus, that his skin had a marvellous good savour, and that his breath was very sweet, insomuch that his body had so sweet a smell of it self, that all the apparel he wore next unto his body, took thereof a passing delightful savour, as if it had been perfumed. And the cause hereof peradventure might be, the very temperature and constitution of his body, which was hot and burning like fire. For Theophrastus is of opinion, that the sweet savour cometh by means of the heat that drieth up the moisture of the body. By which reason also it appeareth, that the dry and hot countries parched with heat of the sun, are those that deliver unto us the best spices: because that the sun drieth up the moisture of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption. This natural heat that Alexander had, made him (as it appeareth) to be given to drink, and to be hasty. Even from his childhood

Alexander coveted honour

they saw that he was given to be chaste. For though otherwise he was very hot and hasty, yet was he hardly moved with lust or pleasure of the body, and would moderately use it. But on the other side, the ambition and desire he had of honour, shewed a certain greatness of mind and noble courage, passing his years. For he was not (as his father Philip) desirous of all kind of glory: who like a rhetorician had a delight to utter his eloquence, and stamped in his coins, the victories he had won at the Olympian Games, by the swift running of his horse and coaches. For when he was asked one day (because he was swift of foot) whether he would assay to run for victory at the Olympian Games: I could be content, said he, so I might run with kings. And yet to speak generally, he misliked all such contention for games. For it seemeth that he utterly misliked all wrestling and other exercise for prize, where men did use all their strength: but otherwise he himself made certain festival days and games of prize, for common stage-players, musicians, and singers, and for the very poets also. He delighted also in hunting of divers kinds of beasts, and playing at the staff. Ambassadors being sent on a time from the King of Persia, whilst his father was in some journey out of his realm: Alexander familiarly entertaining of them, so wan them with his curteous entertainment, (for that he used no childish questions unto them, nor asked them trifling matters, but what distance it was from one place to another, and which way they went into the high countries of Asia, and of the King of Persia himself, how he was towards his enemies, and what power he had) that he did

ravish them with delight to hear him, insomuch that they made no more account of Philip's eloquence and sharp wit, in respect of his son's courage, and noble mind, to attempt great enterprises. For when they brought him news that his father had taken some famous city, or had won some great battell, he was nothing glad to hear it, but would say to his playfellows: Sirs, my father will have all, I shall have nothing left me to conquer with you, that shall be ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleasure nor riches, but only in valiantness and honour, thought, that the greater conquests and realms his father should leave him, the less he should have to do for himself. And therefore, seeing that his father's dominions and empire increased daily more and more, perceiving all occasion taken from him to do any great attempt: he desired no riches nor pleasure, but wars and battels, and aspired to a seigniory where he might win honour. He had divers men appointed him (as it is to be supposed) to bring him up: as schoolmasters, governors, and grooms of his chamber to attend upon him: and among those, Leonidas was the chiefest man that had the government and charge of him, a man of a severe disposition, and a kinsman also unto the Queen Olympias. He misliked to be called a master or tutor, though it be an office of good charge, whereupon the others called him Alexander's governor, because he was a noble man, and allied to the prince. But he that bare the name of his schoolmaster, was Lysimachus, an Acarnanian born, who had no other manner of civility in him, saving that he called himself Phœnix, Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus: and there-

His noble mind

The agility of Alexander in taming

fore he was well thought of, and was the second person next unto Leonidas. At what time Philonicus Thessalian had brought Bucephal the horse to sell unto King Philip, asking thirteen talents, they went into the field to ride him. The horse was found so rough and churlish that the riders said he would never do service, for he would let no man get up on his back, nor abide any of the gentlemen's voices about King Philip, but would yerk out at them. Thereupon, Philip being afraid, commanded them to carry him away as a wild beast, and altogether unprofitable: the which they had done, had not Alexander that stood by said, O gods, what a horse do they turn away, for lack of skill and heart to handle him. Philip heard what he said, but held his peace. Alexander oft repeating his words, seeming to be sorry that they should send back the horse again: Why, said Philip, dost thou control them that have more experience than thou, and that know better than thou how to handle a horse? Alexander answered, And yet me thinks I should handle him better than all they have done. But if thou canst not, no more than they, replied Philip: what wilt thou forfeit for thy folly? I am content (quoth Alexander) to jeopard the price of the horse. Every man laughed to hear his answer: and the wager was laid between them. Then ran Alexander to the horse, and took him by the bridle: and turned him towards the sun. It seemed that he had marked (as I suppose) how mad the horse was to see his own shadow, which was ever before him in his eye, as he stirred to and fro. Then Alexander speaking gently to the horse, and clapping him on the back with his hand, till he had

left his fury and snorting: softly let fall his cloke from him, and lightly leaping on his back, got up without any danger, and holding the reins of the bridle hard, without striking or stirring the horse, made him to be gentle enough. Then when he saw that the fury of the horse was past, and that he began to gallop, he put him to his full career, and laid on spurs and voice a good. Philip at the first with fear beholding his son's agility, lest he should take some hurt, said never a word: but when he saw him readily turn the horse at the end of his career, in a bravery for that he had done, all the lookers on gave a shout for joy. The father on the other side (as they say) fell a-weeping for joy. And when Alexander was lighted from the horse, he said unto him kissing his head: O son, thou must needs have a realm that is meet for thee, for Macedon will not hold thee. Furthermore, considering that of nature he was not to be won by extremity, and that by gentle means and persuasion he could make him do what he would: he ever sought rather to persuade than command him in anything he had to do. Now Philip putting no great affiance in his schoolmasters of music and humanity, for the instruction and education of his son, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of greater learning than their capacities would reach unto: and that as Sophocles saith,

the wildness of Bucephal the horse

He needed many reins, and many bits at once:

he sent for Aristotle (the greatest philosopher in his time, and best learned) to teach his son, unto whom he gave honourable stipend. For Philip

An epistle of Alexander unto Aristotle

having won and taken before, the city of Stagira, where Aristotle was born: for his sake he built it again, and replenished it with inhabitants which fled away, or otherwise were in bondage. He appointed them for a school-house and dwelling-place, the pleasant house that is by the city of Mieza. In that place are yet seen seats of stone which Aristotle caused to be made, and close walks to walk in the shadow. It is thought also, that Alexander did not only learn of Aristotle, moral philosophy and humanity, but also he heard of him other more secret, hard, and grave doctrine, which Aristotle's scholars do properly call Acroamata, or Epoptica, meaning things speculative, which requireth the master's teaching to understand them, or else are kept from common knowledge: which sciences, they did not commonly teach. Alexander being passed into Asia, and hearing that Aristotle had put out certain books of that matter: for the honour's sake of philosophy, he wrote a letter unto him, somewhat too plain, and of this effect. Alexander unto Aristotle greeting. Thou has not done well to put forth the Acroamatical sciences. For wherein shall we excel other, if those things which thou hast secretly taught us, be made common to all? I do thee to understand, that I had rather excel others in excellency of knowledge, than in greatness of power. Farewell. Whereunto Aristotle to pacify this his ambitious humour, wrote unto him again, that these books were published, and not published. For to say truly, in all his treatises which he called μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ: there is no plain instruction profitable for any man, neither to pick out by himself, nor yet to be taught by any other,

Alexander and the poets

Aristotle himself, or his scholars. So that it ritten as a memorial for them that have been red and brought up in the Peripatetick sect and rine. It seemeth also, that it was Aristotle e all other, that made Alexander take delight tudy physick. For Alexander did not only like knowledge of speculation, but would exercise prac- also, and help his friends when they were sick: made besides certain remedies, and rules to live as appeareth by his letters he wrote, that of his nature he was much given to his book, and red to read much. He learned also the Iliads Homer, of Aristotle's correction, which they τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος the corrected, as having ed under the rule: and laid it every night er his bed's-head with his dagger, calling it (as sicrates writeth) the institution of martial dis- ine. And when he was in the high countries Asia, where he could not readily come by other ks, he wrote unto Harpalus to send them to . Harpalus sent him the histories of Philistas, divers tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and chylus: and certain hymns of Telestas and loxenus. Alexander did reverence Aristotle he first, as his father, and so he termed him: use from his natural father he had life, but n him, the knowledge to live. But after- ds he suspected him somewhat, yet he did no hurt, neither was he so friendly to him e had been: whereby men perceived that he not bear him the good-will he was wont to do. is notwithstanding, he left not that zeal and re he had to the study of philosophy, which he learned from his youth, and still continued

Alexander's first soldier-fare

with him. For he shewed divers testimonies thereof. As, the honour he did unto Anaxarchus the Philosopher. The fifty talents which he sent unto Xenocrates, Dandamis, and Calanus: of whom he made great account. When King Philip made war with the Byzantines, Alexander being but sixteen years old, was left his lieutenant in Macedon, with the custody and charge of his great seal: at what time he also subdued the Medarians which had rebelled against him, and having won their city by assault, he drave out the barbarous people, and made a colony of it of sundry nations, and called it Alexandropolis, to say, the city of Alexander. He was with his father at the battell of Chæronea against the Grecians, where it was reported, that it was he that gave charge first of all upon the holy band of the Thebans. Furthermore, there was an old oak seen in my time, which the countrymen commonly call Alexander's oak, because his tent or pavilion was fastened to it: and not far from thence is the charnel house, where those Macedonians were buried that were slain at the battell. For these causes, his father Philip loved him very dearly, and was glad to hear the Macedonians call Alexander king, and himself their captain. Howbeit the troubles that fell out in his court afterwards, by reason of Philip's new marriages and loves, bred great quarrel and strife amongst the women: for the mischief of dissension and jealousy of women, doth separate the hearts of kings one from another, whereof was chiefest cause, the sharpness of Olympias, who being a jealous woman, fretting, and of a revenging mind, did incense Alexander against his father.

The quarrels of Philip with Olympias and Alexander

But the chiefest cause that provoked Alexander, was Attalus at the marriage of Cleopatra, whom Philip married a maiden, falling in fancy with her when himself was past marriage. This was the matter: Attalus being uncle unto this Cleopatra, fell drunk at the marriage, and having in his cups, he persuaded the Macedonians that were at the feast, to pray to the gods, that they might have a lawful heir of Philip and Cleopatra, to succeed him in the kingdom of Macedon. Alexander being in a rage therewith threw a cup at his head, and said unto him: Why, traitor, what am I: dost thou take me for a bastard? Philip seeing that, rose from the board, and drew out his sword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choler and wine, he fell down on the ground. Then Alexander mocking him, Lo, said he, to the Macedonians, here is the man that prepared to go out of Europe into Asia, and stepping only from one bed to another, ye see him laid along on the ground. After this great insolency, he took his mother Olympias away with him, and carrying her into his country of Epirus, he left her there, and himself afterwards went into Illyria. In the meantime, Demaratus Corinthian, a friend of King Philip's, and very familiar with him, came to see him. Philip when he had courteously welcomed him, asked him how the Grecians did agree together. Truly, O king, quoth he, it imports you much to inquire of the agreement of the Grecians, when your own court is so full of quarrel and contention. These words nipped Philip in such sort, and caused him to know his fault, that through Demaratus' means, whom he sent to persuade Alexander to

Alexander and Arrhidæus

return, Alexander was made to come back again. Now when Pexodorus, a prince of Caria (desiring for necessity's sake, to enter in league and friendship with Philip) offered his eldest daughter in marriage unto Arrhidæus King Philip's son, and had sent Aristocritus ambassador into Macedon for that purpose: the friends of Alexander and his mother, began again to inveigle him with new reports and suspicions, how Philip by this great marriage would advance Arrhidæus to his utter undoing, and leave him his heir in the kingdom. Alexander being nettled therewith, sent one Thessalus a player of tragedies into Caria to Pexodorus: to persuade him to leave Arrhidæus, that was a bastard and a fool, and rather to make alliance with Alexander. This offer pleased Pexodorus far better, to have Alexander his son-in-law, than Arrhidæus. Philip understanding this, went himself into Alexander's chamber, taking Philotas with him (the son of Parmenio) one of his familiars, and bitterly took up Alexander, telling him that he had a base mind, and was unworthy to be left his heir after his death, if he would cast himself away, marrying the daughter of a Carian, that was a slave and subject of a barbarous king. Thereupon he wrote letters unto Corinth, that they should send Thessalus bound unto him. And furthermore, he banished out of Macedon, Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolemy, his son's companions: whom Alexander afterwards called home again and placed them in great authority about him. Shortly after, Pausanias sustaining villainy by the counsel and commandment of Attalus and Cleopatra, craving justice of Philip, and finding no amends: he con-

verted all his anger against him, and for spite slew him himself. Of this murder, most men accused Queen Olympias, who (as it is reported) allured this young man, having just cause of anger, to kill him. And Alexander also went not clear from suspicion of this murder. For some say, that Pausanias after this villainy was done him, complained unto Alexander, and told him how he had been abused: who recited these verses to him of Euripides, in the tragedy of *Medea*, where she said in anger, that she would be revenged:

Philip slain by Pausanias

> Both of the bridegroom and the bride,
> And of the father-in-law.

Notwithstanding, afterwards he caused diligent search to be made, and all them to be severely punished that were of the conspiracy: and was angry also that his mother Olympias had cruelly slain Cleopatra. So he came to be king of Macedon at twenty years of age, and found his realm greatly envied and hated of dangerous enemies, and every way full of danger. For, the barbarous nations that were near neighbours unto Macedon, could not abide the bondage of strangers, but desired to have their natural kings. Neither had Philip time enough to bridle and pacify Greece, which he had conquered by force of arms: but having a little altered the governments, had through his insolency left them all in great trouble and ready to rebel, for that they had not long been acquainted to obey. Thereupon Alexander's council of Macedon, being affraid of the troublesome time, were of opinion, that Alexander should utterly forsake the affairs of Greece, and not to follow them with

The beginning of Alexander's reign

extremity, but that he should seek to win the barbarous people by gentle means, that had rebelled against him, and wisely to remedy these new stirs. But he far otherwise determined to stablish his safety by courage and magnanimity: persuading himself, that if they saw him stoop and yield at the beginning, how little soever it were, every one would be upon him. Thereupon, he straight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, invading them sodainly with his army, by the river of Danuby, where in a great battell he overthrew Syrmus, King of the Triballians. Furthermore, having intelligence that the Thebans were revolted, and that the Athenians also were confederate with them: to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his army towards the strait of Thermopylæ, saying that he would make Demosthenes the Orator see (who in his orations, whilst he was in Illyria, and in the country of the Triballians, called him child) that he was grown a stripling passing through Thessaly, and should find him a man before the walls of Athens. When he came with his army unto the gates of Thebes, he was willing to give them of the city occasion to repent them: and therefore only demanded Phœnix and Prothytes, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by trumpet, pardon and safety unto all them that would yield unto him. The Thebans on the other side, demanded of him Philotas, and Antipater, two of his chiefest servants, and made the crier proclaim in the city, that all such as would defend the liberty of Greece should join with them. Then did Alexander leave the Macedonians at liberty to make war

with all cruelty. Then the Thebans fought with greater courage and desire than they were able, considering that their enemies were many against one. And on the other side also, when the garrison of the Macedonians which were within the castle of Cadmea, made a sally upon them, and gave them charge in the rearward: then they being environed of all sides, were slain in manner every one of them, their city taken, destroyed, and razed even to the hard ground. This he did, specially to make all the rest of the people of Greece afraid by example of this great calamity and misery of the Thebans, to the end none of them should dare from thenceforth once to rise against him. He would cloak this cruelty of his under the complaints of his confederates, the Phocians and Platæans: who complaining to him of injuries the Thebans had offred, could not deny them justice. Notwithstanding, excepting the priests, and the religious, and all such as were friends unto any of the lords of Macedon, all the friends and kinsmen of the poet Pindarus, and all those that had dissuaded them which were the rebels: he sold all the rest of the city of Thebes for slaves, which amounted to the number of thirty thousand persons, besides them that were slain at the battell, which were six thousand moe. Now amongst the other miseries and calamities of the poor city of Thebes, there were certain Thracian soldiers, who having spoiled and defaced the house of Timoclea, a vertuous lady and of noble parentage, they divided her goods among them: and their captain having ravished her by force, asked her, whether she had anywhere hidden any gold or

Thebes won and razed by Alexander

A noble act of Timoclea

silver. The lady told him, she had. Then leading him into her garden, she brought him unto a well: where she said she had cast all her jewels and precious things, when she heard the city was taken. The barbarous Thracian stooped to look into the well: she standing behind him, thrust him in, and then threw stones enough on him, and so killed him. The soldiers when they knew it, took and bound her, and so carried her unto Alexander. When Alexander saw her countenance, and marked her gait: he supposed her at the first to be some great lady, she followed the soldiers with such a majesty and boldness. Alexander then asking her what she was: She answered, that she was the sister of Theagenes, who fought a battell with King Philip before the city of Chæronea, where being general he was slain, valiantly fighting for the defence of the liberty of Greece. Alexander wondering at her noble answer and courageous deed, commanded no man should touch her nor her children, and so freely let her go whither she would. He made league also with the Athenians, though they were very sorry for their miserable fortune. For the day of the solemn feast of their mysteries being come, they left it off, mourning for the Thebans: courteously entertaining all those, that flying from Thebes came to them for succour. But whether it was for that his anger was past him, following therein the nature of lions: or because that after so great an example of cruelty, he would shew a singular clemency again: he did not only pardon the Athenians of all faults committed, but did also counsel them to look wisely to their doings, for their city one day should command all

Greece, if he chanced to die. Men report, that certainly he oftentimes repented him that he had dealt so cruelly with the Thebans, and the grief he took upon it was cause that he afterwards shewed himself more merciful unto divers others. Afterwards also he did blame the fury of Bacchus, who to be revenged of him, made him kill Clitus at the table being drunk, and the Macedonians also to refuse him to go any farther to conquer the Indians, which was an imperfection of his enterprise, and a minishing also of his honour. Besides, there was never Theban afterwards, that had escaped the fury of his victory, and did make any petition to him, but he had his suit. Thus was the state of Thebes as you have heard. Then the Grecians having assembled a general council of all the states of Greece within the straits of Peloponnesus: there it was determined that they would make war with the Persians. Whereupon they chose Alexander general for all Greece. Then divers men coming to visit Alexander, as well philosophers, as governors of states, to congratulate with him for his election, he looked that Diogenes Sinopian (who dwelt at Corinth) would likewise come as the rest had done: but when he saw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept still in the suburbs of Corinth, at a place called Craneum, he went himself unto him, and found him laid all along in the sun. When Diogenes saw so many coming towards him, he sat up a little, and looked full upon Alexander. Alexander courteously spake unto him, and asked him, if he lacked anything. Yea said he, that I do: that thou stand out of my sun a little. Alexander was so well pleased

Alexander's talk with Diogenes

Wonderful signs appearing to Alexander

with this answer, and marvelled so much at the great boldness of this man, to see how small account he made of him: that when he went his way from him, Alexander's familiars laughing at Diogenes, and mocking him, he told them: Masters, say what you list, truly if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes. Alexander being desirous to hear what the oracle of Apollo Delphian would say unto him touching the success of his journey into Asia: he went unto the city of Delphes. It chanced so, that he came thither in the days which they call unfortunate, on which days no man used to ask Apollo anything. This notwithstanding, he sent first unto the nun which pronounced the oracles to pray her to come to him. But she refused to come, alleging the custom which forbade her to go. Thereupon, Alexander went thither himself in person, and brought her out by force into the temple. She seeing then that he would not be denied, but would needs have his will: told him, My son, for that I see thou art invincible. Alexander hearing that, said he desired no other oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwards when he was even ready to go on with his voyage, he had divers signs and tokens from the gods: and amongst other, an image of the poet Orpheus made of cyprus, in the city of Libethra, in those days did sweat marvellously. Many men fearing that sign, Aristander the soothsayer bade Alexander be of good cheer, and hope well, for he should obtain noble victories that should never be forgotten, the which should make the poets and musicians sweat to write and sing them. Then, for his army which he led with

him, they that do set down the least number, say that they were thirty thousand footmen, and five thousand horsemen: and they that say more, do write, four-and-thirty thousand footmen, and four thousand horsemen. Aristobulus writeth, that Alexander had no more but three score and ten talents to pay his soldiers with: and Duris writeth, that he had no more provision of victuals, than for thirty days only. And Onesicritus saith moreover, that he did owe two hundred talents. Now, notwithstanding that he began this war with so small ability to maintain it, he would never take ship before he understood the state of his friends, to know what ability they had to go with him, and before he had given unto some, lands, and unto other, a town, and to others again, the custom of some haven. Thus by his bounty, having in manner spent almost the revenues of the crown of Macedon, Perdiccas asked him: My lord, what will you keep for yourself? Hope, said he. Then, quoth Perdiccas again, we will also have some part, since we go with you: and so refused the revenue which the king had given him for his pension. Many others did also the like. But such as were contented to take his liberality, or would ask him anything, he gave them very frankly, and in such liberality spent all the revenue he had. With this desire and determination, he went on to the strait of Hellespont, and going to the city of Ilium, he did sacrifice unto Diana, and made funeral effusions unto the demigods (to wit, unto the princes which died in the war of Troy, whose bodies were buried there) and specially unto Achilles, whose grave he anointed with oil, and

The liberality of Alexander

Alexander's saying of Achilles

ran naked round about it with his familiars, according to the ancient custom of funerals. Then he covered it with nosegays and flowers, saying, that Achilles was happy, who while he lived had a faithful friend, and after his death an excellent herald to sing his praise. When he had done, and went up and down the city to see all the monuments and notable things there: one asked him, if he would see Paris' harp. He answered again, he would very fain see Achilles' harp, who played and sung upon it all the famous acts done by valiant men in former times. In the meantime, Darius King of Persia, having levied a great army, sent his captains and lieutenants to tarry Alexander at the river of Granicus. There was Alexander to fight of necessity, being the only bar to stop his entry into Asia. Moreover, the captains of his council about him, were afraid of the depth of this river, and of the height of the bank on the other side, which was very high and steep, and could not be won without fighting. And some said also, that he should have special care of the ancient regard of the moneth: because the kings of Macedon did never use to put their army into the field in the moneth of Dæsius, which is June. For that, said Alexander, we will remedy soon: let them call it the second moneth, Artemisius, which is May. Furthermore Parmenio was of opinion, that he should not meddle the first day, because it was very late. Alexander made answer again, that Hellespont would blush for shame, if he were now afraid to pass over the river, since he had already come over an arm of the sea. Thereupon he himself first entered the river with thirteen

guidons of horsemen, and marched forwards against an infinite number of arrows which the enemies shot at him, as he was coming up the other bank, which was very high and steep, and worst of all, full of armed men and horsemen of the enemies: which stayed to receive him in battell ray, thrusting his men down into the river, which was very deep, and ran so swift, that it almost carried them down the stream: insomuch that men thought him more rash than wise, to lead his men with such danger. This notwithstanding, he was so wilfully bent that he would needs over, and in the end with great ado recovered the other side, specially because the earth slid away, by reason of the mud. So when he was over, he was driven to fight pell-mell one upon another, because his enemies did set upon the first that were passed over, before they could put themselves into battell ray, with great cries, keeping their horses very close together, and fought first with their darts, and afterwards came to the sword when their darts were broken. Then many of them set upon him alone, for he was easily to be known above the rest by his shield and the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hung from the one side to the other, a marvellous fair white plume. Alexander had a blow with a dart on his thigh but it hurt him not. Thereupon Rhoesaces and Spithridates, both two chief captains of the Persians, setting upon Alexander at once, he left the one, and riding straight to Rhoesaces, who was excellently armed, he gave him such a blow with his lance, that he brake it in his hand, and straight drew out his sword. But so soon as they two had closed together, Spithridates coming at the one side of

Battle at the river of Granicus

Clitus saved Alexander

him, raised himself upon his stirrups and gave Alexander with all his might such a blow on his head with a battle-axe, that he cut the crest off his helmet, and one of the sides off his plume, and made such a gash, that the edge of his battle-axe touched the very hair of his head. And as he was lifting up his hand to strike Alexander again, great Clitus preventing him, thrust him through with a partisan, and at the very same instant, Rhoesaces also fell dead from his horse with a wound which Alexander gave him with his sword. Now whilst the horsemen fought with such fury, the squadron of the battell of footmen of the Macedonians had passed the river, and both the battels began to march one against the other. The Persians stuck not manfully to it any long time, but straight turned their backs and fled, saving the Grecians which took pay of King Darius: they drew together upon a hill, and craved mercy of Alexander. But Alexander setting upon them, more of will than discretion, had his horse killed under him, being thrust through the flank with a sword. This was not Bucephal, but another horse he had. All his men that were slain or hurt at this battell, were hurt amongst them valiantly fighting against desperate men. It is reported that there were slain at this first battell, twenty thousand footmen of these barbarous people, and two thousand five hundred horsemen. Of Alexander's side, Aristobulus writeth, that there were slain four-and-thirty men in all, of the which, twelve of them were footmen. Alexander to honour their valiantness, caused every one of their images to be made in brass by Lysippus. And because he would make the Grecians partakers

of this victory, he sent unto the Athenians three hundred of their targets, which he had won at the battell, and generally upon all the other spoils, he put this honourable inscription: Alexander the son of Philip, and the Grecians, excepting the Lacedæmonians have won this spoil upon the barbarous Asians. As for plate of gold or silver, also purple silks, or other such precious ware which he gat among the Persians: he sent them all unto his mother, a few except. This first victory of Alexander, brought such a sudden change amongst the barbarous people in Alexander's behalf, that the city self of Sardis, the chief city of the empire of the barbarous people, or at the least through all the low countries and coasts upon the sea, they yielded straight unto him, saving the cities of Halicarnassus and Miletus, which did still resist him: howbeit at length he took them by force. When he had also conquered all thereabouts, he stood in doubt afterwards what he were best to determine. Sometime he had a marvellous desire, hotly to follow Darius wheresoever he were, and to venture all at a battell. Another time again, he thought it better first to occupy himself in conquering of these low countries, and to make himself strong with the money and riches he should find among them, that he might afterwards be the better able to follow him. In the country of Lydia near unto the city Xanthus, they say there is a spring that brake of itself, and overflowing the banks about it, cast out a little table of copper from the bottom, upon the which were graved certain characters in old letters, which said: That the kingdom of the Persians should be destroyed by the Grecians. This did

Alexander's victory of the Persians at Granicus

The memory of Theodectes honoured by Alexander

further so encourage Alexander, that he made haste to clear all the sea coast, even as far as Cilicia and Phœnicia. But the wonderful good success he had, running alongst all the coast of Pamphylia, gave divers historiographers occasion to set forth his doings with admiration, saying that it was one of the wonders of the world, that the fury of the sea, which unto all other was extreme rough, and many times would swell over the tops of the high rocks upon the cliffs, fell calm unto him. And it appeareth that Menander himself in a comedy of his doth witness this wonderful happiness of Alexander, when merrily he sayeth:

> O great Alexander, how great is thy state?
> For thou with thy self maist thus justly debate.
> If any man living I list for to call,
> He cometh and humbly before me doth fall.
> And if through the surges my journey do lie,
> The waves give me way, and the sea becomes dry.

Yet Alexander himself simply writeth in his epistles (without any great wonder) that by sea he passed a place called the ladder, and that to pass there, he took ship in the city of Phaselis. There he remained many days, and when he saw the image of Theodectes Phaselitan, standing in the market-place: he went in a dance thither one evening after supper, and cast flowers and garlands upon his image, honouring the memory of the dead, though it seemed but in sport, for that he was his companion when he lived, by means of Aristotle and his philosophy. After that he overcame also the Pisidians, who thought to have resisted him, and conquered all Phrygia besides. There in the city of Gordius, which is said to be the ancient

seat of King Midas: he saw the charret that is so much spoken of, which is bound with the bark of a cornel tree, and it was told him for a truth, of the barbarous people, that they believed it as a prophecy: that whosoever could undo the band off that bark, was certainly ordained to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported, that Alexander proving to undo that band, and finding no ends to undo it by, they were so many fold wreathed one within the other: he drew out his sword, and cut the knot in the middest. So that then many ends appeared. But Aristobulus writeth, that he had quickly undone the knot by taking the bolt out of the ax-tree, which holdeth the beam and body of the charret, and so severed them asunder. Departing thence, he conquered the Paphlagonians and Cappadocians, and understood of the death of Memnon, that was Darius' general of his army by sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withstand Alexander: whereupon he was the bolder to go on with his determination to lead his army into the high countries of Asia. Then did King Darius himself come against Alexander, having levied a great power at Susa, of six hundred thousand fighting men, trusting to that multitude, and also to a dream, the which his wizards had expounded rather to flatter him, than to tell him truly. Darius dreamed that he saw all the army of the Macedonians on a fire, and Alexander serving of him in the self same attire that he himself wore when he was one of the chamber unto the late king his predecessor: and that when he came into the temple of Belus, he suddenly vanished from him. By this dream it plainly appeared, that the

Darius' army and dream

The wonderful trust of Alexander

gods did signify unto him, that the Macedonians should have noble success in their doings, and that Alexander should conquer all Asia, even as King Darius had done, when he was but Asgandes unto the king: and that shortly after, he should end his life with great honour. This furthermore made him bold also, when he saw that Alexander remained a good while in Cilicia, supposing it had been for that he was affraid of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a sickness he had the which some say he got, by extreme pains and travel, and others also, because he washed himself in the river of Cydnus, which was cold as ice. Howsoever it came, there was none of the other physicians that durst undertake to cure him, thinking his disease uncurable, and no medicines to prevail that they could give him, and fearing also that the Macedonians would lay it to their charge, if Alexander miscarried. But Philip Acarnanian, considering his master was very ill, and bearing himself of his love and good-will towards him, thought he should not do that became him, if he did not prove (seeing him in extremity and danger of life) the utmost remedies of physick, what danger soever he put himself into: and therefore took upon him to minister physick unto Alexander, and persuaded him to drink it boldly if he would quickly be whole, and go to the wars. In the meantime, Parmenio wrote him a letter from the camp, advertising him, that he should beware of Philip his physician, for he was bribed and corrupted by Darius, with large promises of great riches, that he would give him with his daughter in marriage, to kill his maister. Alexander when he had read this letter, laid it under his bed's

head, and made none of his nearest familiars acquainted therewith. When the hour came that he should take his medicine, Philip came into his chamber with other of the king's familiars, and brought a cup in his hand with the potion he should drink. Alexander then gave him the letter, and withal, cheerfully took the cup of him, shewing no manner of fear or mistrust of anything. It was a wonderful thing and worth the sight, how one reading the letter, and the other drinking the medicine both at one instant, they looked one upon another, howbeit not both with like cheerful countenance. For Alexander looked merrily upon him, plainly shewing the trust he had in his physician Philip, and how much he loved him: and the physician also beheld Alexander like a man perplexed and amazed, to be so falsely accused, and straight lift up his hands to heaven, calling the gods to witness that he was innocent, and then came to Alexander's bedside, and prayed him to be of good cheer, and boldly to do as he would advise him. The medicine beginning to work, overcame the disease, and drave for the time, to the lowest parts of his body, all his natural strength and powers: insomuch as his speech failed him, and he fell into such a weakness, and almost swooning, that his pulse did scant beat, and his senses were well-near taken from him. But that being past, Philip in few days recovered him again. Now, when Alexander had gotten some strength, he shewed himself openly unto the Macedonians: for they would not be pacified, nor persuaded of his health until they had seen him. In King Darius' camp, there was one Amyntas a Macedonian: and banisht out of his country, who

in his physician

Battell betwixt Darius and Alexander

knew Alexander's disposition very well. He finding that Darius meant to meet with Alexander within the straits and valleys of the mountains: besought him to tarry rather where he was, being a plain open country round about him, considering that he had a great host of men to fight with a few enemies, and that it was most for his advantage to meet with him in the open field. Darius answered him again, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would fly, before he could come to him. Amyntas replied, For that, O king, I pray you fear not: for I warrant you upon my life he will come to you, yea and is now onwards on his way coming towards you. All these persuasions of Amyntas could not turn Darius from making his camp to march towards Cilicia. At the self same time also, Alexander went towards Syria to meet with him. But it chanced one night that the one of them missed of the other, and when day was come, they both returned back again: Alexander being glad of this hap, and making haste to meet with his enemy within the straits. Darius also seeking to win Alexander's lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army out of the straits: began then to find the fault and error committed, for that he had shut himself up in the straits, (holden in on the one side with the mountain, and on the other with the sea, and the river of Pindarus that ran between both) and that he was driven to disperse his army into divers companies, in a stony and ill-favoured country, ill for horsemen to travel, being on the contrary side a great advantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footmen, and but few in number. But now, as fortune gave Alexander the

field as he would wish it to fight for his advantage: so could he tell excellently well how to set his men in battell ray to win the victory. For albeit that Alexander had the less number by many than his enemy, yet he had such policy and cast with him, that he foresaw all, and would not be environed: For he did put out the right wing of his battell a great deal farther, than he did his left wing, and fighting himself in the left wing in the foremost ranks, he made all the barbarous people fly that stood before him: howbeit, he was hurt on his thigh with a blow of a sword. Chares writeth, that Darius self did hurt him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithstanding Alexander self, writing of this battell unto Antipater sayeth, that indeed he was hurt on the thigh with a sword, howbeit he did put him in no danger: but he writeth not that Darius did hurt him. Thus having won a famous victory, and slain above a hundred and ten thousand of his enemies, he could not yet take Darius because he fled having still four or five furlongs vantage before him: howbeit it took his chariot of battell wherein he fought, and his bow also. Then he returned from the chase, and found the Macedonians sacking and spoiling all the rest of the camp of the barbarous people, where there was infinite riches (although they had left the most part of their carriage behind them in the city of Damas, to come lighter to the battell) but yet reserved for himself King Darius' tent, which was full of a great number of officers, of rich movables, and of gold and silver. So, when he was come to the camp, putting off his armour, he entered into the bath and said: Come on, let us go and wash off the

in Cilicia

The clemency of Alexander unto the captive ladies

sweat of the battell in Darius' own bath. Nay, replied one of his familiars again, in Alexander's bath: for the goods of the vanquished are rightly the vanquisher's. When he came into the bath, and saw the basons and ewers, the boxes, and vials for perfumes, all of clean gold, excellently wrought, all the chamber perfumed passing sweetly, that it was like a paradise: then going out of his bath, and coming into his tent, seeing it so stately and large, his bed, the table, and supper, and all ready in such sumptuous sort, that it was wonderful, he turned him unto his familiars and said: This was a king indeed, was he not think ye? As he was ready to go to his supper, word was brought him, that they were bringing unto him amongst other ladies taken prisoners, King Darius' mother and his wife, and two of his daughters unmarried: who having seen his chariot and bow, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of themselves thinking Darius had been slain. Alexander paused a good while and gave no answer, pitying more their misfortune, than rejoicing at his own good hap. Then he presently sent one Leonnatus unto them, to let them understand, that Darius was alive, and that they should not need to be afraid of Alexander, for he did not fight with Darius, but for his kingdom only: and as for them, that they should have at his hands all that they had of Darius before, when he had his whole kingdom in his hands. As these words pleased the captive ladies, so the deeds that followed, made them find his clemency to be no less. For first he suffered them to bury as many of the Persian lords as they would, even of them that had been slain in the battell, and to take as much silks of the

spoils, jewels, and ornaments, as they thought good to honour their funerals with: and also did lessen no part of their honour, nor of the number of their officers and servants, nor of any jot of their estate which they had before, but did allow them also greater pensions, than they had before. But above all, the princeliest grace, and most noble favour that Alexander shewed unto these captive princesses, which had always lived in honourable fame and chastity, was this: That they never heard word, or so much as any suspicion that should make them afraid to be dishonoured or deflowered: but were privately among themselves unvisited or repaired unto by any man, but of their own, not as if they had been in a camp of their enemies, but as if they had been kept in some close monastery: although Darius' wife (as it is written) was passing fair, as Darius also was a goodly prince, and that his daughters likewise did resemble their father and mother. Alexander thinking it more princely for a king, as I suppose to conquer himself, than to overcome his enemies: did neither touch them nor any other, maid or wife, before he married them, Barsine only excepted, who being left Memmon's widow (general of King Darius by sea) was taken by the city of Damas. She being excellently well learned in the Greek tongue, and of good entertainment (being the daughter of Artabazus, who came of a king's daughter) Alexander was bold with her by Parmenio's procurement, (as Aristobulus writeth) who enticed him to embrace the company of so excellent a woman, and passing fair besides. Furthermore, beholding the other Persian ladies besides which were prisoners, what goodly fair women they were:

The chastity of Alexander

Alexander's pleasant speech of women's beauty

he spake it pleasantly, that the ladies of Persia made men's eyes sore to behold them. Notwithstanding, preferring the beauty of his continency, before their sweet fair faces: he passed by without any spark of affection towards them, more than if they had been images of stone without life. To confirm this, Philoxenus whom he had left his lieutenant in the low countries upon the sea-coast, wrote unto him on a time, that one Theodorus a merchant of Tarentum, had to sell two goodly young boys, marvellous fair: and therefore that he sent unto him to know his pleasure, if he would buy them. Therewith he was so offended, that many times he cried out aloud: O, my friends, what villainy hath ever Philoxenus seen in me, that he should devise (having nothing to do there) to purchase me such infamy? whereupon he wrote unto him from the camp, with reproachful words, that he should send that vile Tarentine merchant Theodorus and his merchandise to the devil. He sharply punished also one Hagnon, that wrote unto him he would buy a young boy called Crobylus (who for beauty bare the only name in Corinth,) and bring him to him. Another time also, when he heard that Damon and Timotheus Macedonians, under Parmenio's charge, had deflowered two of the soldiers' wives that were strangers, and waged of him: he wrote unto Parmenio to look unto it, and to examine the matter. And if he found them guilty of the rape, that then he should put them both to death, as brute beasts born to destroy mankind. And in that letter he wrote thus of himself: For my self, said he, I have neither seen, nor desired to see Darius' wife: neither have I suffered any speech of her beauty before me.

Moreover he said, that he did understand that he was mortal by these two things: to wit, sleep, and lust: for, from the weakness of our nature proceedeth sleep and sensuality. He was also no greedy-gut, but temperate in eating, as he shewed by many proofs: but chiefly in that he said unto the Princess Ada, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queen of Caria. For when (for the love she bare him) she daily sent him sundry delicate dishes of meat, tarts, and marchpanes, and besides the meat it self, the pastlers and cooks to make them, which were excellent workmen: he answered that he could not tell what to do with them, for he had better cooks than those appointed him by his governor Leonidas, to wit: for his dinner, to rise before day, and to march by night: and for his supper, to eat little at dinner. And my governor, said he, would oftentimes open the chests where my bedding and apparel lay, to see if my mother had put any fine knacks or conceits among them. Furthermore, he was less given to wine, than men would have judged. For he was thought to be a greater bibber than he was, because he sat long at the board, rather to talk than drink. For ever when he drank, he would propound some tedious matter, and yet but when he was at leisure. For having matters to do, there was neither feast, banquet, play, marriage, nor any pastime that could stay him: as they had done other captains. The which appeareth plainly by the shortness of his life, and by the wonderful and notable deeds he did, in that little time he lived. When he had leisure, after he was up in the morning, first of all he would do sacrifice to the gods,

Alexander temperate in eating

Alexander's life when he was at leisure

and then would go to dinner, passing away all the rest of the day, in hunting, writing something, taking up some quarrel between soldiers, or else in studying. If he went any journey of no hasty business, he would exercise himself by the way as he went, shooting in his bow, or learning to get up or out of his chariot suddenly as it ran. Oftentimes also for his pastime he would hunt the fox, or catch birds, as appeareth in his book of remembrances for every day. Then when he came to his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rub and anoint himself: and would ask his pantelers and carvers if his supper were ready. He would ever sup late, and was very curious to see, that every man at his board were alike served, and would sit long at the table, because he ever loved to talk, as we have told you before. Otherwise he was as noble a prince and gracious to wait upon, and as pleasant, as any king that ever was. For he lacked no grace nor comeliness to adorn a prince, saving that he would be something over busy in glorying in his own deeds, much like unto a bragging soldier: neither was he contented himself to please his own humour that way, but would also suffer his familiars to sooth him even to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which would neither praise him in his presence, hating the flatterers, nor yet durst say less of the praises which they gave him. For of the first they were ashamed, and by the second they fell in danger. After supper, he would wash himself again, and sleep until noon the next day following, and oftentimes all day long. For himself, he was nothing curious of dainty dishes: for when any did

send him rare fruits, or fish, from the country near the seaside, he would send them abroad unto his friends, and seldom keep anything for himself. His table notwithstanding was always very honourably served, and did still increase his fare, as he did enlarge his conquests: till it came to the sum of ten thousand drachmas a day. But there he stayed, and would not exceed that sum, and moreover commanded all men that would feast him, that they should not spend above that sum. After this battell of Issus, he sent unto the city of Damas, to take all the gold and silver, the carriage, and all the women and children of the Persians which were left there, where the men of arms of the Thessalians sped them full well. For therefore did he send them thither, because he saw that they had fought valiantly at the day of the battell: and so were the rest of his army also well stored with money. There the Macedonians having tasted first of the gold, silver, women, and barbarous life: as dogs by scent do follow the track of beasts, even so were they greedy to follow after the goods of the Persians. First Alexander thought it best to win all the sea-coast. Thither came the Kings of Cyprus, and Phœnicia, and delivered up to him the whole island and all Phœnicia, saving only the city of Tyre. That city he besieged seven months together by land, with great bulwarks and divers engines of battery, and by sea, with two hundred galleys. During this siege, Alexander dreamed one night, that Hercules held out his hand unto him over the walls of the city, and called him by his name: and there were divers Tyrians also that dreamed in likewise, that Apollo told them that he would go unto Alex-

He besiegeth the city of Tyre

Alexander's journey against the Arabians

ander, because he was not pleased with their doings in the city. Thereupon they bound his image, (which was of a wonderful bigness) with great chains, and nailed him down fast to the base, as if he had been a traitor that would have yielded himself unto their enemies, and called him Alexandrine, as much as favouring Alexander. Alexander had there also another dream. For he dreamed that he saw a satyr afar off sporting with him, and when he thought to have come near to have taken him, he still escaped from him: until at the length, after he had run a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into his hands. The soothsayers being asked what this dream should signify, answered probably, by dividing Satyros into two, and then it is Σὰ τύρος: which signifieth the city of Tyre shall be thine. And they do yet shew unto this day, the fountain where Alexander thought he saw the satyr. Continuing this siege, he went to make war with the Arabians, that dwell upon the mountain Antiliban, where he was in great danger of being cast away, only because he heard his tutor Lysimachus that followed him, say boastingly, that he was not inferior, nor older than the Phœnix. For when they came at the foot of the mountain, they left their horses, and went up a-foot: and Alexander was of so courteous a nature, that he would not leave his tutor Lysimachus behind him (who was so weary that he could go no farther) but because it was dark night, and for that the enemies were not far from them, he came behind to encourage his tutor, and in manner to carry him. By this means, unawares, he was far from his army with very few men about him, and benighted be-

sides: morever it was very cold, and the way was very ill. At the length, perceiving divers fires which the enemies had made, some in one place, and some in another, trusting to his valiantness, having always provided remedy in extremity, when the Macedonians were distressed, himself ever putting to his own hand: he ran unto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of the barbarous people that lay by the fire side, he snatched away a firebrand, and ran with it to his own men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous people were so afraid, that they ran their way as fast as they could. Other also thinking to come and set upon him, he slew them every man, and so lay there that night, himself and his men without danger. Thus Chares reporteth this matter. Now for the siege of Tyre, that fell out thus. Alexander caused the most part of his army to take rest, being overharried and wearied with so many battels as they had fought: and sent a few of his men only to give assault unto the city, to keep the Tyrians occupied, that they should take no rest. One day the soothsayer Aristander sacrificing unto the gods, having considered of the signs of the entrails of the beasts: did assure them that were present, that the city should be taken by the later end of the moneth. Everybody laughed to hear him: for that day was the very last day of the month. Alexander seeing him amated, as one that could not tell what to say to it, seeking ever to bring those tokens to effect, which the soothsayers did prognosticate: commanded them that they should not reckon that day the thirty day, but the seven-and-twentith, and immediately upon it made the trumpet sound

The courage and agility of Alexander

Alexander took Tyre and Gaza

the alarm, and give a hotter assault to the wall, than he had thought to have done before. They fought valiantly on both sides, insomuch as they that were left in the camp, could not keep in, but must needs run to the assault to help their companions. The Tyrians seeing the assault so hot on every side, their hearts began to fail them, and by this means was the city taken the self same day. Another time also, when Alexander was before Gaza, the chief city of Syria, there fell a clod of earth upon his shoulder, out of the which there flew a bird into the air. The bird lighting upon one of the engines of his battery, was caught with the nets made of sinews which covered over the ropes of the engines. Aristander did prognosticate, that it signified he should be hurt in his shoulder, notwithstanding, that he should yet take the town. And indeed so it came to pass. When he sent great presents of spoils which he wan at the sack of this city, unto his mother Olympias, Cleopatra, and divers others of his friends: among other things, he sent unto Leonidas his governor, five hundred talents weight of frankincense, and a hundred talents weight of myrrh: remembering the hope he put him unto when he was a child. For, as Alexander was upon a day sacrificing unto the gods, he took both his hands full of frankinsence to cast into the fire, to make a perfume thereof. When his governor Leonidas saw him, he said thus unto him: When thou hast conquered the country where these sweet things grow, then be liberal of thy perfume: but now, spare that little thou hast at this present. Alexander calling to mind at that time his admonition, wrote unto him

in this sort: We do send thee plenty of frankincense and myrrh, because thou shouldst no more be a niggard unto the gods. There was brought unto him a little coffer also, which was thought to be the preciousest thing and the richest, that was gotten of all the spoils and riches, taken at the overthrow of Darius. When he saw it, he asked his familiars that were about him, what they thought fittest, and the best thing to be put into it. Some said one thing, some said another thing: but he said, he would put the Iliads of Homer into it, as the worthiest thing. This is confirmed by the best historiographers. Now if that which the Alexandrians report upon Heraclides' words, be true: then it appeareth that he did profit himself much by Homer in this journey. For it is reported that when he had conquered Egypt, he determined to build a great city, and to replenish it with a great number of Grecians, and to call it after his name. But as he was about to enclose a certain ground, which he had chosen by the advice of his engineers, and workmaisters: the night before he had a marvellous dream, that he saw an old man standing before him, full of white hairs, with an honourable presence, and coming towards him said these verses:

Alexander's dream in Egypt

Within the foaming sea there lies a certain island, right
Against the shore of Egypt, which of ancient Pharos hight.

As soon as he rose the next morning, he went to see this Isle of Pharos, the which at that time was a little above the mouth of the river of Nile, called Canobia, howbeit it is now joined unto firm

Alexander's journey unto the oracle of Ammon

land, being forced by man's hand. This, he thought the meetest place that could be, to build the city which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great bar of earth, broad enough, that separateth a great lake on the one side, and the sea on the other, the which doth join hard to a great haven. Then he said that Homer was wonderful in all his things, but that amongst others, he was an excellent architector: and commanded, that straight they should cast the platform of the city, according to the situation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalk, nor white earth there to mark withal, wherefore they were driven to take meal, and with that did mark out upon the earth being black, the compass of the town that was round and circular, and being divided into two equal parts, either of them resembled the skirts and fashion of the Macedonian cloak. Alexander liked this draught passingly well. But there rose upon the sudden out of the river or lake, such an infinite multitude of great fowl of all sorts, that they covered the element as it had been a cloud, and lighting within this circuit, did eat up all the meal, and left not a crumb. Alexander liked not these signs. Notwithstanding, his soothsayers bade him not be discouraged, for they told him it was a sign that he should build a city there, so plentiful of all things, that he should maintain all sorts of people. Then he commanded them, unto whom he had given the charge of the building, that they should go forward with their work, and he himself in the meantime, took his journey to go visit the temple of Jupiter Ammon. The journey was long, and there were many troubles by the way, but two dangers above all the

rest most special. The first, lack of water, because they had to travel many days' journey through a great desert. The second was, the danger of the rising of the south wind by the way, to blow the sand abroad, which was of a wonderful length. And it is reported, that on a time there rose such a tempest in that desert, that blew up whole hills of sand, which slew fifty thousand men of Cambyses' army. Every man in Alexander's train did know these dangers very well: howbeit it was hard to dissuade Alexander from anything which he had a desire unto. For, fortune favouring him in all his attempts, made him constant and resolute in his determinations: and his noble courage besides, made him invincible in all things he took in hand, insomuch as he did not only compel his enemies, but he had power also of time and place. In that voyage, instead of these former dangers spoken of, he had many helps, the which are supposed were sent him from the gods, by the oracles that followed afterwards. For in a certain sort, they have believed the oracles that were written of him. First of all, the wonderful water and great showers that fell from the element did keep him from fear of the first danger, and did quench their thirst, and moisted the dryness of the sand in such sort, that there came a sweet fresh air from it. Furthermore, when the marks were hidden from the guides to shew them the way, and that they wandered up and down, they could not tell where: there came crows unto them that did guide them flying before them: flying fast when they saw them follow them, and stayed for them when they were behind. But Callisthenes writeth a greater wonder than this, that

Crows guided Alexander

Alexander ascribeth

in the night time, with the very noise of the crows, they brought them again into the right way which had lost their way. Thus Alexander in the end, having passed through this wilderness, he came unto the temple he sought for: where, the prophet or chief priest saluted him from the god Ammon, as from his father. Then Alexander asked him, if any of the murtherers that had killed his father, were left alive. The priest answered him, and bad him take heed he did not blaspheme, for his father was no mortal man. Then Alexander again rehearsing that he had spoken, asked him, if the murtherers that had conspired the death of Philip his father were all punished. After that, he asked him touching his kingdom, if he would grant him to be king over all the world. The god answered him by the mouth of his prophet, he should: and that the death of Philip was fully revenged. Then did Alexander offer great presents unto the god, and gave money large to the priests, and ministers of the temple. This is that the most part of writers do declare, touching Alexander's demand, and the oracles given him. Yet did Alexander himself write unto his mother, that he had secret oracles from the god, which he would only impart unto her, at his return into Macedon. Others say also, that the prophet meaning to salute him in the Greek tongue to welcome him the better, would have said unto him, *O Paidion*, as much as dear son: but that he tripped a little in his tongue, because the Greek was not his natural tongue, and placed an *s*, for an *n*, in the later end, saying, *O Pai Dios*, to wit, O son of Jupiter: and that Alexander was glad of that mistaking. Where-

upon there ran a rumour straight among his men, that Jupiter had called him his son. It is said also, that he heard Psammon the Philosopher in Egypt, and that he liked his words very well, when he said that God was king of all mortal men. For (quoth he) he that commandeth all things, must needs be God. But Alexander self spake better, and like a philosopher, when he said: That God generally was father to all mortal men, but that particularly he did elect the best sort for himself. To conclude, he shewed himself more arrogant unto the barbarous people, and made as though he certainly believed that he had been begotten of some god: but unto the Grecians he spake more modestly of divine generation. For in a letter he wrote unto the Athenians touching the city of Samos, he said: I gave ye not that noble free city, but it was given you, at that time by him whom they called my lord and father: meaning Philip. Afterwards also being stricken with an arrow, and feeling great pain of it: My friends, said he, this blood which is spilt, is man's blood, and not as Homer said, **godhead to himself**

No such as from the immortal gods doth flow.

And one day also in a marvellous great thunder, when every man was afraid, Anaxarchus the Rhetorician being present, said unto him: O thou son of Jupiter, wilt thou do as much? No, said he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearful to my friends, as thou wouldst have me: disdaining the service of fish to my board, because thou seest not princes' heads served in. And the report goeth also, that Alexander upon a time sending a little fish unto Hephæstion,

Alexander made feasts and plays

Anaxarchus should say as it were in mockery, that they which above others seek for fame with great trouble and hazard of life, have either small pleasure in the world, or else as little as others have. By these proofs and reasons alleged, we may think that Alexander had no vain nor presumptuous opinion of himself, to think that he was otherwise begotten of a god, but that he did it in policy to keep other men under obedience, by the opinion conceived of his godhead. Returning out of Phœnicia into Egypt, he made many sacrifices, feasts, and processions in honour of the gods, sundry dances, tragedies and such like pastimes goodly to behold: not only for the sumptuous setting out of them, but also for the good-will and diligence of the setters forth of them, which strived every one to exceed the other. For the kings of the Cyprians were the setters of them forth, as at Athens they draw by lot a citizen of every tribe of the people, to defray the charges of these pastimes. These kings were very earnest who should do best, but specially Nicocreon, King of Salamis, in Cyprus: and Pasicrates, lord of the city of Soli. For it fell to their lot to furnish two of the excellentest players, Pasicrates furnished Athenodorus, and Nicocreon Thessalus: whom Alexander loved singularly well, though he made no shew of it, until that Athenodorus was declared victor, by the judges deputed to give sentence. For when he went from the place, he told them he did like the judges' opinion well, notwithstanding, he would have been contented to have given the one-half of his realm, not to have seen Thessalus overcome. Athenodorus being con-

demned upon a time by the Athenians, because he was not in Athens at the feasts of Bacchus, when the comedies and tragedies were played, and a fine set on his head for his absence: he besought Alexander to write unto them in his behalf, that they would release his penalty. Alexander would not do so, but sent thither his money whereof he was condemned, and paid it for him of his own purse. Also when Lycon Scarphian, an excellent stage-player, had pleased Alexander well, and did foist in a verse in his comedy, containing a petition of ten talents: Alexander laughing at it, gave it him. Darius at that time wrote unto Alexander, and unto certain of his friends also, to pray him to take ten thousand talents for the ransom of all those prisoners he had in his hands, and for all the countries, lands and signiories on this side the river of Euphrates, and one of his daughters also in marriage, that from thenceforth he might be his kinsman and friend. Alexander imparted this to his council. Amongst them Parmenio said unto him: If I were Alexander, quoth he, surely I would accept this offer. So would I indeed, quoth Alexander again, if I were Parmenio. In fine, he wrote again unto Darius, that if he would submit himself, he would use him courteously: if not, that then he would presently march towards him. But he repented him afterwards, when King Darius' wife was dead with child: for without dissimulation it grieved him much, that he had lost so noble an occasion to shew his courtesy and clemency. This notwithstanding, he gave her body honourable burial, sparing for no cost. Amongst the eunuchs of the queen's chamber,

Darius sent ambassadors unto Alexander

rius' with ireus the nuch

there was one Tireus taken prisoner, among the women: who stealing out of Alexander's camp, taking his horseback, rode unto Darius to bring him news of the death of his wife. Then Darius beating of his head, and weeping bitterly, cried out aloud: Oh gods, what wretched hap have the Persians! that have not only had the wife and sister of their king taken prisoners even in his lifetime, but now that she is dead also in travail of child, she hath been deprived of princely burial! Then spake the eunuch to him, and said: For her burial, most gracious king, and for all due honour that might be wished her, Persia hath no cause to complain of her hard fortune. For, neither did Queen Statira your wife whilst she lived prisoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any part or jot of their honour they were wont to have before, saving only to see the light of your honour, the which, god Oromasdes grant to restore again (if it be his will) unto your majesty: neither was there any honour wanting at her death (to set forth her stately funerals) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the tears of your enemies. For Alexander is as merciful in victory, as he is valiant in battell. Darius hearing the eunuch's words, being vexed in mind for very grief: took the eunuch aside into the secretest place of his tent, and said unto him. If thou be not, with the misfortune of the Persians, become a Macedonian, bu doest in thy heart acknowledge Darius, for th sovereign lord and master: I pray thee, and d also conjure thee, by the reverence thou beare unto this bright light of the sun, and to the rig hand of the king, that thou do tell me truly. A

these the least evils which I lament in Statira, her imprisonment and death? And did she not in her life make us more miserable by her dishonour, than if we had dishonourably fallen into the hands of a cruel enemy? For, what honest communication, I pray thee, can a young victorious prince have with his enemy's wife a prisoner: having done her so much honour as he hath done? Darius going on with these speeches, Tireus the eunuch fell down on his knees, and besought him not to say so, neither to blemish the vertue of Alexander in that sort, nor yet so to dishonour his sister and wife deceased, and thereby also to deprive himself of the greatest comfort he could wish to have in this calamity, which was, to be overcome by an enemy that had greater vertues than a man could possibly have: but rather that he should wonder at Alexander's vertue, who had shewed himself chaster to the ladies, than valiant against the Persians. And therewital, the eunuch confirmed the great honesty, chastity, and noble mind of Alexander, by many great and deep oaths. Then Darius coming out among his friends again, holding up his hands unto the heavens, made this prayer unto the gods. "O heavenly gods, creators of men, and protectors of kings and realms: first, I beseech you grant me, that restoring the Persians again to their former good state, I may leave the realm unto my successors, with that glory and fame I received it of my predecessors: that obtaining victory, I may use Alexander with that great honour and courtesy, which he hath in my misery shewed unto those I loved best in the world. Or otherwise if the time appointed be come, that the kingdom of Persia

Darius' prayer unto the gods

The battle betwixt Alexander and Darius

must needs have end, either through divine revenge, or by natural change of earthly things: Then good gods yet grant, that none but Alexander after me, may sit in Cyrus' throne." Divers writers do agree, that these things came even thus to pass. Now Alexander having conquered all Asia on this side of the river of Euphrates, he went to meet with Darius, that came down with ten hundred thousand fighting men. It was told him by some of his friends to make him laugh, that the slaves of his army had divided themselves in two parts, and had chosen them a general of either part, naming the one Alexander, and the other Darius: and that at the first, they began to skirmish only with clods of earth, and afterwards with fists, but at the last, they grew so hot, that they came to plain stones and staves, so that they could not be parted. Alexander hearing that, would needs have the two generals fight hand to hand one with the other: and Alexander self did arm him that was called Alexander, and Philotas the other which was called Darius. All the army thereupon was gathered together to see this combat between them, as a thing that did betoken good or ill luck to come. The fight was sharp between them, but in the end, he that was called Alexander overcame the other: and Alexander to reward him, gave him twelve villages, with privilege to go after the Persian manner. Thus it is written by Eratosthenes. The great battel that Alexander fought with Darius, was not (as many writers report) at Arbela, but at Gausamela, which signifieth in the Persian tongue, the house of the camel. For some one of the ancient kings of Persia that had

escaped from the hands of his enemies, flying upon a dromedary camel, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the revenues of certain villages to keep the camel there. There fell out at that time an eclipse of the moon, in the moneth called Boëdromion (now August) about the time that the feast of the mysteries was celebrated at Athens. The eleventh night after that, both their armies being in sight of the other, Darius kept his men in battell ray, and went himself by torchlight viewing his bands and companies. Alexander on the other side whilst his Macedonian soldiers slept, was before his tent with Aristander the Soothsayer, and made certain secret ceremonies and sacrifices unto Apollo. The ancient captains of the Macedonians, specially Parmenio, seeing all the valley betwixt the river of Niphates, and the mountains of the Gordiæans, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadful noise as of a confused multitude of people that filled their camp with the sound thereof: they were amazed, and consulted, that in one day it was in manner unpossible to fight a battell with such an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went unto Alexander after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counsel him to give battell by night, because the darkness thereof should help to keep all fear from his men, which the sight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gave them this notable answer: I will not steal victory, quoth he. This answer seemed very fond and arrogant to some, that he was so pleasant, being near so great danger. Howbeit others think that it was a present noble courage, and a deep con-

at Gaugamela.

The magnanimity

sideration of him, to think what should happen: thereby to give Darius no manner of occasion (if he were overcome) to take heart again, and to prove another battell, accusing the darkness of the night as cause of his overthrow: as he had done at the first conflict, imputing his overthrow to the mountains, the straits, and the sea. For, said he, Darius will never leave to make wars with us for lack of men, nor munition, having so large a realm as he hath, and such a world of people besides: but then he will no more hazard battell, when his heart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he seeth his army at noondays overthrown by plain battell. After his captains were gone from him, he went into his tent, and laid him down to sleep, and slept all that night more soundly than he was wont to do before: insomuch as the lords and princes of his camp coming to wait upon him at his uprising, marvelled when they found him so sound asleep, and therefore of themselves they commanded the soldiers to eat. Afterwards, perceiving that time came fast upon them, Parmenio went into Alexander's chamber, and coming to his bedside, called him twice or thrice by name, till at the last he awaked him, and asked him how it chanced that he slept so long, like one that had already overcome, and that did not think he should fight as great and dangerous a battell as ever he did in his life. Why, said Alexander, laughing on him: dost thou not think we have already overcome, being troubled no more with running after Darius up and down a country utterly destroyed, as we should otherwise have been compelled to have done, if he would not have come to battell, and

destroyed the country before us? Now Alexander did not only shew himself before the battell, but even at the very instant of battell, a noble man of courage, and of great judgement. For Parmenio leading the left wing of his battell, the men of arms of the Bactrians gave such a fierce onset upon the Macedonians, that they made them give back: and Mazæus also, King Darius' lieutenant, sent certain troops of horsemen out of their battell, to give charge upon them that were left in the camp to guard the carriage. Parmenio being amazed with either of both attempts, sent immediately to advertise Alexander, that all their camp and carriage would be lost, if he did not send presently to aid the rearward. When these news came to Alexander from Parmenio, he had already given the signal of battell unto his men for to give charge. Whereupon he answered the messenger that brought him these news, that he should tell Parmenio he was a madman and out of his wits, not remembering that if they wan the battell, they should not only save their own carriage, but also win the carriage of their enemies: and if it were their chance to lose it, then that they should not need to care for their carriage, nor for their slaves, but only to think to die honourably, valiantly fighting for his life. Having sent this message unto Parmenio, he put on his helmet. The rest of his armour for his body, he had put it on before in his tent, which was, a Sicilian cassock, and upon that a brigandine made of many folds of canvas with eylet-holes, which was gotten among the spoils at the battell of Issus. His headpiece was as bright as silver, made by Theophilus the armourer: his collar suit like to

of Alexander

An eagle flew over Alexander's head

the same, all set full of precious stones, and he had a sword by his side marvellous light, and of excellent temper, which the king of the Citieians had given him, using commonly to fight with his sword at any set battel. His coat-armour was marvellous rich, and of sumptuous workmanship, far above all the rest he wore. It was of the workmanship of Helicon, the which the Rhodians gave him for a present, and this he commonly wore when he went to battell. Now when he did set his men in battell ray, or made any oration unto them, or did ride alongst the bands to take view of them: he always used to ride upon another horse to spare Bucephal, because he was then somewhat old: notwithstanding, when he meant indeed to fight, then Bucephal was brought unto him, and as soon as he was gotten up on his back, the trumpet sounded, and he gave charge. Then, after he had made long exhortations to encourage the men of arms of the Thessalians, and the other Grecians also, and when they had all promised him they would stick to him like men, and prayed him to lead them, and give charge upon the enemies: he took his lance in his left hand, and holding up his right hand unto heaven: besought the gods (as Callisthenes writeth) that if it were true, he was begotten of Jupiter, that it would please them that day to help him, and to encourage the Grecians. The Soothsayer Aristander was then on horseback hard by Alexander, apparelled all in white, and a crown of gold on his head, who shewed Alexander when he made his prayer, an eagle flying over his head, and pointing directly towards his enemies. This marvellously encouraged all the army that saw it, and with this joy, the

men of arms of Alexander's side, encouraging one another, did set spurs to their horse to charge upon the enemies. The battell of the footmen of the Persians, began a little to give way, and before the foremost could come to give them charge, the barbarous people turned their backs, and fled. The chase was great, Alexander driving them that fled upon the middest of their own battell, where Darius self was in person. He espied him afar off over the foremost ranks in the middest of his battell, being a goodly tall prince, standing in a chariot of war, compassed in round with great troops of horsemen, all set in goodly ordinance to receive the enemy. But when they saw Alexander at hand with so grim a look, chasing them that fled, through those that yet kept their ranks: there fell such a fear among them, that the most part dispersed themselves. Notwithstanding, the best and most valiantest men fought it out to the death before their king, and falling dead one upon another, they did let them that the enemies could not so well follow Darius. For they lying one by another on the ground, drawing on to the last gasp, did yet take both men and horses by the legs to hinder them. Darius then seeing nothing but terror and destruction before his eyes, and that the bands which he had set before him for safeguard, came back upon him, so as he could not devise how to turn his chariot forward nor backward, the wheels were so hindered and stayed with the heaps of dead bodies, and that the horse also being set upon and hid in manner in this conflict, fell to leaping and plunging for fear, so that the charetteers could no longer guide nor drive them: he got up upon a

The flying of Darius

Alexander's third victory of Darius

mare that lately had foal, and so saved himself flying upon her. And yet had he not thus escaped, had not Parmenio once again sent unto Alexander to pray him to come and aid him: because there was yet a great squadron whole together that made no countenance to fly. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused Parmenio that day to have dealt but slackly and cowardly, either because his age had taken his courage from him, or else for that he envied Alexander's greatness and prosperity, who against his will became over great as Callisthenes said. In fine, Alexander was angry with the second message, and yet told not his men truly the cause why, but feigning that he would have them leave killing, and because also night came on: he caused the trumpet sound retrait, and so went towards his army, whom he thought to be in distress. Notwithstanding, news came to him by the way, that in that place also, they had given the enemies the overthrow, and that they fled every way for life. The battell having this success, every man thought that the kingdom of the Persians was utterly overthrown, and that Alexander likewise was become only king of all Asia: whereupon he made sumptuous sacrifices unto the gods, and gave great riches, houses, lands and possessions unto his friends and familiars. Furthermore, to shew his liberality also unto the Grecians, he wrote unto them, that he would have all tyrannies suppressed throughout all Greece, and that all the Grecians should live at liberty under their own laws. Particularly also he wrote unto the Platæans, that he would re-edify their city again, because their predecessors in time past, had given their

country unto the Grecians, to fight against the barbarous people for the defence of the common liberty of all Greece. He sent also into Italy unto the Crotonians, part of the spoil, to honour the memory of the valiantness, and good-will of Phayllus their citizen, who in the time of the wars with the Medes (when all the Grecians that dwelt in Italy had forsaken their natural countrymen of Greece itself, because they thought they could not otherwise scape) went with a ship of his unto Salamis, which he armed and set forth at his own charges, because he would be at the battell and partake also of the common danger with the Grecians: such honour did Alexander bear unto prowess, that he loved to reward and remember the worthy deeds of men. Then Alexander marching with his army into the country of Babylon, they all yielded straight unto him. When he came into the country of the Ecbatanians, he marvelled when he saw an opening of the earth, out of the which there came continual sparks of fire as out of a well: and that hard by also the earth spewed out continually a kind of maund or chalky clay somewhat liquid, of such abundance, as it seemed like a lake. This maund or chalk is like unto a kind of lime or clay, but it is so easy to be set afire, that not touching it with any flame, by the brightness only of the light that cometh out of the fire, it is set afire, and doth also set the air afire which is between both. The barbarous people of that country, being desirous to shew Alexander the nature of that naphtha, scattered the street that led to his lodging, with some of it. Then the day being shut in, they fired it at one of the ends, and the first drops taking fire, in the twinkling of an

and liberality to all men

What Medea's enchantment was

eye, all the rest from one end of the street to the other was of a flame, and though it was dark and within night, lightened all the place thereabout. Alexander being in bath at that time, and waited upon by a page called Stephen: (a hard-favoured boy, but yet he had an excellent sweet voice to sing) one Athenophanes an Athenian, that always anointed and bathed the king, and much delighted him with his pleasant conceits, asked him if he would see the trial of this naphtha upon Stephen: for if the fire took and went not out, then he would say it had a wonderful force, and was unquenchable. The page was contented to have it proved upon him. But so soon as they had laid it on him, and did but touch it only, it took straight of such a flame, and so fired his body, that Alexander himself was in a marvellous perplexity withal. And sure had it not been by good hap, that there were many by ready with vessels full of water to put into the bath, it had been unpossible to have saved the boy from being burnt to nothing: and yet so he escaped narrowly, and besides was sick long after. Now some apply this naphtha unto the fable of Medea, saying that therewith she rubbed the crown and lawn she gave unto the daughter of Creon at her marriage, so much spoken of in the tragedies. For neither the crown nor the lawn could cast fire of themselves, neither did the fire light by chance. But by oiling them with this naphtha she wrought a certain aptness to receive more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride sat. For the beams which the fire casteth out, have over some bodies no other force, but to heat and lighten them. But such as have an oily dry

humour, and thereby a sympathy and proportionable conformity with the nature of the fire: it easily enflameth and setteth afire, by the forcible impression of his beams. Howbeit they make a great question of the cause of this natural force of naphtha, or whether this liquid substance and moist humour that taketh fire so easily, doth come of the earth that is fatty and apt to conceive fire. For this country of Babylon is very hot, insomuch as oftentimes barley being put into the ground, it bloweth it up again, as if the earth by vehement inflammation had a strong blast to cast it out: and men in the extremest heat of the sommer, do sleep there, upon great leather budgets filled full of fresh water. Harpalus, whom Alexander left there his lieutenant and governor of that country, desiring to set forth and beautify the gardens of the king's palace and walks of the same, with all manner of plants of Greece: he brought all the rest to good pass, saving ivy only, which the earth could never abide, but it ever died, because the heat and temper of the earth killed it, and the ivy of itself liketh fresh air and a cold ground. This digression is somewhat from the matter, but peradventure the reader will not think it troublesome, how hard soever he find it, so it be not over tedious. Alexander having won the city of Susa, he found within the castle four thousand talents in ready coin, gold and silver, besides other infinite treasure and inestimable, amongst the which (it is said) he found to the value of five thousand talents weight of purple Hermiona silk which they had safe locked up and kept the space of two hundred years save ten, and yet the colour kept as fresh as if it had been newly

Treasure found by Alexander at Susa

Alexander's journey into Persia,

made. Some say that the cause why it was so well kept, came by means of the dyeing of it, with honey, in silks which before had been dyed red, and with white oil in white silks. For, there are silks seen of that colour of as long a time, that keep colour as well as the other. Dino writeth furthermore, that the kings of Persia made water to be brought from the rivers of Nilus and Ister (otherwise called Danuby) which they did lock up with their other treasure for a confirmation of the greatness of their empire, and to shew that they were lords of the world. The ways to enter into Persia being very hard of passage, and in manner unpassable, (both for the illness of the ways, as also for the guard that kept them, which were the choicest men of Persia) Darius also being fled thither: there was one that spake the Greek and Persian tongue (whose father was born in the country of Lycia, and his mother a Persian) that guided Alexander into Persia, by some compass fetched about not very long, according to the oracle's answer of Alexander given by the mouth of Nun Pythia, when he was a child: that a Lycian should guide and lead him against the Persians. There was then great slaughter made in Persia of the prisoners that were taken. For Alexander himself writeth, that he commanded the men should be put to the sword, thinking that the best way to serve his turn. It is said also, that there he found a marvellous treasure of gold and silver in ready money, as he had done before in the city of Susa: the which he carried away with all the rest of the king's rich wardrobe, and with it laded ten thousand mules, and five thousand camels. Alexander entering into the castle of the chief city

of Persia, saw by chance a great image of Xerxes lie on the ground, the which unawares was thrown down by the multitude of the soldiers that came in, thronging one upon another. Thereupon he stayed, and spake unto it as if it had been alive, saying: I cannot tell whether I should pass by thee, and let thee lie, for the war thou madst sometime against the Grecians: or whether I should lift thee up, respecting the noble mind and vertues thou hadst. In the end, when he had stood mute a long time, considering of it, he went his way: and meaning to refresh his weary army, because it was the winter quarter, he remained there four moneths together. The report goeth that the first time that Alexander sat under the cloth of state of King Darius, all of rich gold: Demaratus Corinthian (who first began to love him even in his father Philip's time) burst out in tears for joy, good old man saying, that the Grecians long time dead before, were deprived of this blessed hap to see Alexander sit in King Xerxes' princely chair. After that, preparing again to go against Darius, he would needs make merry one day, and refresh himself with some banquet. It chanced so, that he with his companions was bidden to a private feast privately, where was assembled some fine curtisans of his familiars, who with their friends tarried at the banquet. Amongst them was that famous Thais, born in the country of Attica, and then concubine to Ptolemy, king of Egypt after Alexander's death. She finely praising Alexander, and partly in sporting wise, began to utter matter in affection of her country, but yet of greater importance than became her mouth: saying, That that day she found herself fully recom-

where he found a marvellous treasure

The insolent boldness of Thais

pensed to her great good liking, for all the pains she had taken, travelling through all the countries of Asia, following of his army, now that she had this favour and good hap to be merry and pleasant, in the proud and stately palace of the great kings of Persia. But yet it would do her more good, for a recreation to burn Xerxes' house with the fire of joy, who had burnt the city of Athens: and herself to give the fire to it, before so noble a prince as Alexander. Because ever after it might be said, that the women following his camp had taken more noble revenge of the Persians, for the wrongs and injuries they had done unto Greece: than all the captains of Greece that ever were had done, either by land or sea. When she had said, Alexander's familiars about him, clapped their hands and made great noise for joy, saying: That it were as good a deed as could be possible, and persuaded Alexander unto it. Alexander yielding to their persuasions, rose up, and putting a garland of flowers upon his head, went foremost himself: and all his familiars followed after him, crying and dancing all about the castle. The other Macedonians hearing of it also, came thither immediately with torches lit and great joy, hoping that this was a good sign that Alexander meant to return again into Macedon, and not to dwell in the country of the barbarous people, sith he did burn and destroy the king's castle. Thus, and in this sort it was thought to be burnt. Some writers think otherwise: that it was not burnt with such sport, but by determination of the council. But howsoever it was, all they grant, that Alexander did presently repent him, and commanded the fire to be quenched straight. For his

liberality, that good-will and readiness to give, increased with his conquests: and when he did bestow gifts of any, he would besides his gift, ever give them good countenance, on whom he bestowed his grace and favour. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. Aristo being colonel of the Pæonians, having slain one of his enemies, he brought him his head, and said: Such a present, O king, by us, is ever rewarded with a cup of gold. Yea quoth Alexander, smiling upon him, with an empty cup. But I drink to thee this cupful of good wine, and do give thee cup and all. Another time, he met with a poor Macedonian that led a mule laden with gold of the kings: and when the poor mule was so weary that she could no longer carry her burden, the muleteer put it upon his own back, and loaded himself withal, carrying it so a good pretty way: howbeit in the end being overloden, was about to throw it down on the ground. Alexander perceiving it, asked him what burden he carried. When it was told him: Well, quoth he to the muleteer, be not weary yet, but carry it into the tent, for I give it thee. To be short, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, than he was with those that would ask him somewhat. He wrote also unto Phocion, that he would take him no more for his friend, if he would refuse his gifts. It seemed that he had given nothing unto a young boy called Serapion (who ever did serve them the ball that played at tennis) because he asked him nothing. Wherefore, the king playing on a time, this young boy threw the ball to others that played with him, and not to himself. The king marvelling at it, at the length

Persepolis burnt by Alexander

Alexander's prodigality

said unto him: Why, my boy, dost thou not give me the ball? Because your majesty doth not ask it me, quoth he. Alexander then understanding his meaning, laughed at the boy, and did much for him afterwards. There was attending on him also one Proteas, a pleasant conceited man, and that could jest finely. It chanced upon some occasion that Alexander fell out with him: whereupon some of his friends were intercessors to the king for him, and besought him to pardon him: and Proteas himself also being present, craved pardon with tears in his eyes. Alexander thereupon forgave him. Then pleasantly replied Proteas, I desire it may please your grace, that I may receive some testimony to assure me I am in your favour. Thereupon the king straight commanded one to give him five talents. The goods and riches he gave unto his familiars and guard about him, were very great, as it appeareth plainly by a letter which his mother Olympias wrote unto him, to this effect: I know thou sparest not to give thy friends large gifts, and that thou makest much of them: but thereby thou makest them king's fellows, they get many friends, and leave thee post alone without any. His mother did many times write such like matters unto him, the which Alexander kept very secret, saving one day when he opened one of them, Hephæstion being present drew near, and read the letter with him, as he was wont to do. Alexander did let him alone, but when he had read it, he plucked the seal of arms from his finger, wherewith he did use to seal his letters, and put it to Hephæstion's mouth. He gave also unto the son of Mazæus, (that was the chiefest man about Darius)

a second government, besides that which he had before, and greater than the first. This young nobleman refused it, saying: Why, and it please your grace, before there was but one Darius, but you now make many Alexanders. He gave unto Parmenio also, Bagoas' house where (as it is reported) he found a thousand talents' worth of the spoils and goods of the Susians. He wrote also unto Antipater, that he should keep a guard about his person, for he had many enemies that lay in wait for him. He did send also many goodly presents unto his mother, but withal he wrote unto her, that she would meddle no more with his matters nor gifts, taking upon her the office of a captain. She storming at it, he patiently did brook her anger. Antipater another time, writing a long letter unto him against his mother Olympias, when he had read it over: Lo, said he, Antipater knoweth not, that one tear of the mother's eye will wipe out ten thousand such letters. Furthermore, Alexander perceiving on a time, that his friends became very dissolute and licentious in diet and life, and that Hagnon Teian had his corked shoes nailed with silver nails, that Leonnatus also caused divers camels to be loden amongst his carriage with powder of Egypt, to put upon him when he wrestled or used any other exercise of body and that also they carried after Philotas, toils for chase and hunting, of a hundreth furlong long, and that there were also that used precious perfumes and sweet savours when they bathed themselves, more than there were that rubbed themselves with plain oil, and that they had fine chamberlains to rub them in the bath, and to make their beds soft and deli-

reproved by his mother

Alexander reproveth the fineness and curiosity of his friends

cate: he wisely and courteously rebuked them and said. I marvel, said he, that you which have fought in so often and great battells, do not remember that they which travel, do sleep more sweet and soundly, than they that take their ease and do nothing: and that you do not mark, that comparing your life, with the manner of the life of the Persians, to live at pleasure is a vile thing, and to travel is princely. And how I pray you, can a man take pain to dress his own horse, or to make clean his lance or helmet, that for slothful curiosity's sake, disdaineth to rub his own body with his fingers? Are you ignorant that the type of honour in all our victory consisteth, in scorning to do that which we see them do, whom we have vanquished and overcome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint themselves with hardness: he took more pains in wars and in hunting, and did hazard himself more dangerously, than ever he had done before. Whereupon an ambassador of Lacedæmon being present to see him fight with a lion, and to kill him, said unto him: Truly your grace hath fought well with this lion, and tried which of you two should be king. Craterus after that, caused this hunting to be set up in the temple of Apollo in Delphes: where are the images of the lion, of the dogs, and of the king fighting with the lion, and of himself also that came to help him, all those images being of copper, some made by Lysippus, the rest by Leochares. Thus Alexander did put himself unto all jeopardies, as well to exercise his strength and courage, as also to allure his men to do the like. This notwithstanding his friends and familiars

having wealth at will, as men exceeding rich, they would needs live delicately and at ease, and would take no more pains, misliking utterly to go up and down the countries to make war here and there, and thereupon began a little to find fault with Alexander, and to speak evil of him. Which at the first Alexander took quietly saying, That it was honour for a king to suffer himself to be slandered and ill spoken of, for doing of good. And yet the least good turns he did unto his friends, did shew his hearty love and honour he bare them, as shall appear unto you by some examples that follow. Peucestas being bitten by a bear, did let his friends understand by letters, but he wrote nothing thereof unto Alexander. Alexander was offended therewith, and wrote unto him thus. Send me word at the least yet how thou doest, and whether any of thy fellows did forsake thee at the hunting, to the end they may be punished. Hephæstion being absent about certain business he had, Alexander wrote unto him, that as they were hunting a beast called ichneumon, Craterus unfortunately crossing Perdiccas' dart, was stricken through both his thighs. Peucestas being cured of a great disease, Alexander wrote unto Alexippus his physician that had cured him, and gave him thanks. Craterus also being sick, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certain sacrifices for the recovery of his health, and sent unto him, willing him to do the like. And when the physician Pausanias meant to give him a drink of elleborus, he wrote letters unto him, telling him what danger he was in, and prayed him to be careful how he received that medicine. He did also put Ephialtes and

His care of his friends and wonderful courtesy

Alexander kept one ear for the condemned person

Cissus in prison, who brought him the first news of Harpalus flying, because they did wrongfully accuse and slander him. When he had commanded there should be a bill made of all the old men's names, and diseased persons that were in his camp, to send them home again into their country: there was one Eurylochus Ægæan that made his name be billed among the sick persons, and it was found afterwards that he was not sick, and confessed that he did it only to follow a young woman called Telesippa, with whom he was in love, who was returning homewards towards the sea-side. Alexander asked him, whether this woman were free or bond: he answered him, that she was a curtisan free born. Then said Alexander unto Eurylochus, I would be glad to further thy love, yet I cannot force her to tarry: but seek to win her by gifts and fair words to be contented to tarry, sithence she is a free woman. It is a wonderful thing to see what pains he would take, to write for his friends, even in such trifles as he did. As when he wrote into Cilicia for a servant of Seleucus that was fled from his master, sending straight commandment, that they should carefully lay for him. And by another letter he commendeth Peucestas, for that he had stayed and taken one Nicon, a slave of Craterus. And by one other letter also unto Megabyzus, touching another bondman that had taken sanctuary in a temple, he commanded him also to seek to entice him out of the sanctuary, to lay hold on him if he could, but otherwise not to meddle with him in any case. It is said also, that at the first when he used to sit in judgement to hear criminal causes, whilst the

ser went on with his complaint and accusa- he always used to lay his hand upon one of ears to keep that clean from the matter of sation, thereby reserving it to hear the purga- and justification of the person condemned. afterwards, the number of accusations that were ght before him, did so provoke and alter him, he did believe the false accusations, by the number of the true that were brought in. nothing put him more in rage, than when he rstood they had spoken ill of him: and then as so fierce, as no pardon would be granted, hat he loved his honour, more than his king- or life. Then at that time he went against us, thinking that he meant to fight again: but rstanding that Bessus had taken him, then he the Thessalians leave to depart home into their try, and gave them two thousand talents, over bove their ordinary pay. Alexander had then rvellous long, hard, and painful journey in wing of Darius: for in eleven days, he rode thousand and three hundreth furlong, inso- a as the most part of his men were even weary, done, for lack of water. It chanced him one o meet with certain Macedonians that carried n mules) goatskins full of water, which they fetched from a river. They seeing Alexander anner dead for thirst, being about noon: ran ly to him, and in a headpiece brought him r. Alexander asked them, to whom they ed this water. They answered him again, that carried it to their children, but yet would have grace to live: for though we lose them, we get more children. When they had said so,

His painful journey in following of Darius

The love of Alexander to his soldiers

Alexander took the helmet with water, and perceiving that the men of arms that were about him, and had followed him, did thrust out their necks to look upon this water, he gave the water back again unto them that had given it him, and thanked them, but drank none of it. For said he, if I drink alone, all these men here will faint. Then they seeing the noble courage and courtesy of Alexander, cried out that he should lead them: and therewithal began to spur their horses, saying, that they were not weary nor athirst, nor did think themselves mortal, so long as they had such a king. Every man was alike willing to follow Alexander, yet had he but threescore only that entred with him into the enemy's camp. There, passing over much gold and silver which was scattered abroad in the market-place, and going also by many chariots full of women and children, which they found in the fields, flying away at all adventure: they ran upon the spur until they had overtaken the foremost that fled, thinking to have found Darius amongst them. But at the length, with much ado, they found him laid along in a coach, having many wounds upon his body, some of darts and some of spears. So he being almost at the last cast, called for some drink, and drank cold water, which Polystratus gave him. To whom when he had drunk, he said: This is my last mishap my friend, that having received this pleasure, I cannot requite thee: howbeit Alexander will recompense thee, and the gods Alexander, for the liberality and courtesy which he hath shewed unto my wife and children, whom I pray thee embrace for my sake. At these last words, he took Polystratus by the hand, and so gave up the ghost.

Alexander came immediately after, and plainly shewed that he was sorry for his death and misfortune: and undoing his own cloak, he cast it upon the body of Darius. After that, having by good hap gotten Bessus into his hands, he tare him in pieces with two high straight trees which he bowed downwards, and tied his legs to each of them: so that when the trees were let go, they gave a sodain cruel jerk up, and carried either tree a piece of his body with it. Then Alexander having given Darius' corse princely burial, and embalmed him: he sent it unto his mother, and received his brother Exathres for one of his friends. From thence he went into the country of Hyrcania with all the flower of his army, where he saw the gulf of the sea Caspian, which he thought of no less greatness, than the sea of Pontus, howbeit calmer than the other seas be. He could not then certainly find out what it was, nor from whence it came: but of likelihood he thought it was some breaking out of the lake or marish of Mæotis. Yet some ancient natural philosophers seemed to know truly what it was. For many years before Alexander's voyage and conquest, they wrote, that of the four chiefest gulfs of the sea, that cometh from the ocean, and do enter within mainland, that which is more northerly, is the sea Caspian, which they call also Hyrcanium. As Alexander went through the country, certain barbarous people suddenly set upon them that led Bucephal his horse, and took him: but with that he was in such a rage, that he sent a herald into their country to proclaim open wars upon them, and that he would put man, woman and child to the sword, if they

The punishment of Bessus

Alexander goeth after

brought him not his horse again. Whereupon, when his horse was returned home, and that they yielded up their cities and forts into his hands: he did use them all very courteously, and moreover did give them money for the ransom of his horse, which they restored. Departing thence, he entered into the country of Parthia. There having leisure enough, he began to apparel himself after the fashion of the barbarous people, because he thought thereby the better to win the hearts of the countrymen, framing himself unto their own fashions: or else to try the hearts of the Macedonians, to see how they would like the manner of the Persians (which he meant to bring them unto) in reverencing of him as they did their king, by little and little acquainting them to allow the alteration and change of his life. This notwithstanding, he would not at the first take up the apparel of the Medes, which was very strange, and altogether barbarous. For he went not without breeches, nor did wear a long gown trailing on the ground, nor a high coptanct hat, but took a mean apparel, betwixt the Medes and the Persians, more modest than theirs: and more costly than the last: and yet at the first he did not wear it, but when he would talk with the barbarous people, or else privately amongst his friends and familiars. Afterwards notwithstanding, he shewed himself openly to the people in that apparel, when he gave them audience. This sight grieved the Macedonians much: but they had his vertues in such admiration, that they thought it meet in some things he should take his own pleasure, sithence he had been often hurt in the wars, and not long before had his leg broken with an

arrow, and another time, had such a blow with a stone full in his neck, that it made him spur-blind a great while after, and yet nevertheless he never eschewed any bodily danger. For he passed over the river of Oraxartes, which he took to be Tanais, and having in battell overthrown the Scythians, he followed them in chase above a hundreth furlongs, notwithstanding that at that instant he had a looseness of body. Thither came unto him (as it is reported) the queen of the Amazons, as many writers do testify: among the which are these, Clitarchus, Polycritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes and Hister. But Chares, Ptolemy, Anticlides, and Philon Theban, Philip the historiographer, Hecatæus Eretrian, Philip Chalcidian, and Duris Samian, all these do write that it was not true: and it seemeth also that Alexander self doth confirm it. For, writing all things particularly unto Antipater as they happened unto him, he wrote unto him that the King of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage: but there he maketh no mention at all of any Amazon. It is also said, that Onesicritus long time after that did read unto King Lysimachus, the fourth book of his history, where he did speak of the Amazon. Lysimachus smiling, said unto him: Why, and where was I then? But for that matter, to credit or not credit it, Alexander's estimation thereby is neither impaired nor advanced. Furthermore, Alexander fearing that the Macedonians, being weary with this long war, would go no farther: he left all the rest of his army behind, and took only twenty thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen of the choicest men of his army, and with them invaded the country of

the manner of the Persians

Alexander with one word of his mouth

Hyrcania. There he made an oration unto them, and told them, that the barbarous people of Asia had but seen them as it were in a dream, and it they should now return back into Macedon, having but only stirred them, and not altogether subdued Asia: the people offended with them, would set upon them as they went home, as if they were no better than women. Nevertheless, he gave any man leave to return that would, protesting therewith against them that would go, how they did forsake him, his friends, and those who had so good hearts towards him, as to follow him in so noble a journey, to conquer the whole earth unto the Macedonians. This self matter is reported thus in a letter which Alexander wrote unto Antipater: and there he writeth furthermore, that having made this oration unto them, they all cried out, and bade him lead them into what part of the world he would. When they had granted their good-wills, it was no hard matter afterwards, to win the rest of the common sort who followed the example of the chiefest. Thereupon he did frame himself the more to live after the fashion of the country there, and interchangeably also to bring the men of that country unto the manner of the Macedonians: being persuaded that by this mixture and interchange of manners one with another, he should by friendship more than force, make them agree lovingly together, when that he should be so far from the country of Persia. For this purpose therefore, he chose thirty thousand of their children of that country, and set them to learn the Greek tongue, and to be brought up in the discipline of wars, after the Macedonians' manner: and gave

them schoolmaisters and captains to train them in each faculty. And for the marrying of Roxana, he fancied her, seeing her at a feast where he was: which fell out as well for his turn, as if he had with better advice and counsel loved her. For the barbarous people were very proud of this match when as they saw him make alliance with them in this sort, insomuch as they loved him better than they did before, because they saw in those things he was always so chaste and continent, that notwithstanding he was marvellously in love with her, yet he would not dishonourably touch this young lady, before he was married unto her. Furthermore, Alexander considering that of the two men which he loved best, Hephæstion liked well of his match, and went apparelled as himself did, and that Craterus, contrarily did still use the Macedonian manner: he dealt in all affairs with the barbarous people, by Hephæstion, and with the Grecians and Macedonians, by Craterus. To be short, he loved the one, and honoured the other: saying that Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus loved the king. Hereupon these two persons bare one another grudge in their hearts, and oftentimes brake out in open quarrel: insomuch as on a time being in India, they drew their swords and fought together, and divers of their friends ran to take part with either side. Thither came Alexander self also, who openly before them all, bitterly took up Hephæstion, and called him fool and bedlam, saying, Didst thou not know, that whatsoever he be that should take Alexander from me, he should never live? Privately also, he sharply rebuked Craterus, and calling them both before him, he made them friends together,

brought the Macedonians to obedience

Why Philotas was suspected and envied

swearing by Jupiter Ammon, and by all the other gods, that he loved them two of all men living, nevertheless if ever he found that they fell out together again, they should both die for it, or him at the least that first began to quarrel. So ever after that, they say there was never foul word nor deed between them, not so much as in sport only. There was also one Philotas, the son of Parmenio, a man of great authority among the Macedonians, who next unto Alexander was the most valiant man, the patientest to abide pain, the liberalest, and one that loved his men and friends better than any noble man in the camp whatsoever. Of him it is reported, that a friend of his came to him on a time to borrow money: and he commanded straight one of his men to let him have it. His pursebearer answered him, that he had none. Why, said his maister, dost thou tell me so? Hast thou not plate, and apparel to sell or gage to help him to some? Howbeit otherwise, he had such a pride and glory to shew his riches, to apparel himself so sumptuously, and to be more fine and prinked than became a private man, that this made him to be hated: because he took upon him to be a great man, and to look big on the matter, which became him ill favouredly, and therefore every man through his own folly, fell in misliking with him. Insomuch as his own father said one day unto him: Son, I pray thee be more humble and lowly. This Philotas had long before been complained upon unto Alexander because that when the carriage of King Darius' army (which was in the city of Damas) was taken after the battell of Cilicia, among many prisoners that were taken and brought unto Alex-

ander's camp, there was one Antigoné, a passing fair young curtisan, born in the city of Pydna. Philotas found means to get her, and like a young man that was in love with her, making merry with her at the table, fondly let fall brave words and boasts of a soldier saying that what notable things were done, they were done by himself and his father: and called Alexander at every word, young man, and said that by their means he held his name and kingdom. This curtisan told one of his friends what he said, and that friend told another friend, and so went from man to man (as commonly it doth) till at the length it came to Craterus' ears. He took the curtisan, and brought her unto Alexander, unto whom she told as much as she had said before. Alexander bade her still make much of Philotas, and to tell him every word what he said of him. Philotas knowing nothing that he was thus circumvented, did ever frequent her company, and would be bold commonly to speak many foolish and undiscreet words against the king, sometime in anger, and sometime again in a bravery. Alexander this notwithstanding, though he had manifest proof and cause to accuse Philotas, yet he dissembled it for that time, and would not be known of it: either for that he knew Parmenio loved him, or else for that he was affraid of their great power and authority. About that time there was one Limnus Chalæstrian a Macedonian, that laid great and secret wait to kill Alexander: and being in love with a young man called Nicomachus, enticed him to help him to do this deed. The young man wisely denied it, and told the same to his brother called Balinus. He went unto Philotas, and prayed him to bring

of Alexander

Limnus traitorously seeketh

them both before Alexander, for they had a matter of great importance to impart unto him. Philotas would not let him speak with the king (but why no man could tell) telling them that the king had greater matters in hand, and was not at leisure. Then they went unto another, and he brought them unto Alexander, unto whom first they opened the treason of Limnus conspired against him: and by the way they told also, how they had bin twice before with Philotas, who would not let them come in, nor speak with them. That angred Alexander greatly, and he was the more offended also when Limnus was slain by him, whom he sent to apprehend him, resisting him for that he would not be taken: and thought that by his death he had lost a great means to come to the light of this treason and conspiracy. Then Alexander frowning upon Philotas, brought all his enemies upon his back, that of long time had hated him. For they began to speak boldly, that it was time for the king to look about him, for it was not to be supposed that this Limnus Chalæstrian of himself durst have entered into that treason, but rather that he was a minister, and a chief instrument, set on by a greater personage than he: and therefore that it stood Alexander upon to examine them straightly, which had cause to keep this treason secret. After Alexander once gave ear unto such words and vehement presumptions, there was straight brought a thousand accusations against Philotas. Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the presence of divers lords and familiars of the king put to the torture, Alexander self being behind a hanging, to hear what he would say. It is reported, that when

he heard how faintly and pitifully he besought Hephæstion to take pity on him, he said unto himself: Alas, poor Philotas, thou that hast so faint a heart, how durst thou take upon thee so great matters? In fine, Philotas was put to death, and immediately after he was executed, Alexander sent also with speed unto the realm of Media to kill Parmenio, who was his lieutenant there, and one that had served King Philip his father, in his greatest affairs, and he only of all other the old servants of his father had procured Alexander to take in hand the conquest of Asia: and who also of three sons which he brought out with him, had seen two of them die before him, and afterwards was slain himself with the third. This cruelty of Alexander made his friends affrayed of him and specially Antipater: who secretly sent ambassadors unto the Ætolians, to make league with them, because they themselves also were affrayed of Alexander, for that they had put the Œniades to death. Alexander hearing that, said, that he himself, and not the sons of the Œniades, would be revenged on the Ætolians. Not long after that, followed the murder of Clitus, the which to hear it simply told, would seem much more cruel than the death of Philotas. But reporting the cause and the time together in which it chanced: it will be found that it was not of set purpose, but by chance and unfortunately, that Alexander being overcome with wine, did unluckily wreak his anger upon Clitus. The manner of his misfortune was this. There came certain men of the low countries from the seaside, that brought apples of Greece unto Alexander. Alexander, wondering to see them so green and

to kill Alexander

Why Alexander slew Clitus

fair, sent for Clitus to shew him them, and to give him some of them. Clitus by chance did sacrifice at that time unto the gods, and left his sacrifice to go unto Alexander: howbeit, there were three wethers that followed him, on whom the accustomed sprinklings had been done already to have sacrificed them. Alexander understanding that, told it to his soothsayers, Aristander, and Cleomantis Laconian, both did answer him, that it was an ill sign. Alexander thereupon gave order straight, that they should do sacrifice for the health of Clitus, and specially for that three days before he dreamed one night that he saw Clitus in a mourning gown, sitting amongst the sons of Parmenio, the which were all dead before. This notwithstanding, Clitus did not make an end of his sacrifice, but came straight to supper to the king, who had that day sacrificed unto Castor and Pollux. At this feast there was old drinking, and all the supper time there were certain verses sung and made by a poet, called Pranichus, (or as others say, of one Pierion) against certain captains of the Macedonians, which had not long before been overcome by the barbarous people, and only to shame them, and to make the company laugh. With these verses, ancient men that were at this feast, became much offended, and grew angry with the poet that made them, and the minstrel that sung them. Alexander on the other side, and his familiars liked them very well, and commanded the minstrel to sing still. Clitus therewithal being overtaken with wine, and besides of a churlish nature, proud and arrogant, fell into greater choler, and said: That it was neither well nor honestly done in that sort to speak ill of those poor

Macedonian captains (and specially amongst the barbarous people their enemies) which were far better men than they, that laughed them to scorn, although their fortune were worse than theirs. Alexander then replied, and said, That saying so, he pleaded for himself, calling cowardliness, misfortune. Then Clitus standing up, said again: But yet this my cowardliness saved thy life, that callest thyself the son of the gods, when thou turnedst thy back from Spithridates' sword: and the blood which these poor Macedonians did shed for thee, and the wounds which they received of their bodies fighting for thee, have made thee so great, that thou disdainest now to have King Philip for thy father, and wilt needs make thy self the son of Jupiter Ammon. Alexander being moved with these words, straight replied: O, villain, thinkest thou to scape unpunished for these proud words of thine, which thou usest continually against me, making the Macedonians rebel against Alexander? Clitus answered again, Too much are we punished, Alexander, for our pains and service to receive such reward: nay, most happy think we them that long since are dead and gone, not now to see the Macedonians scourged with rods of the Medes, and compelled to curry favour with the Persians, to have access unto their king. Thus Clitus boldly speaking against Alexander, and Alexander again answering and reviling him: the gravest men sought to pacify this stir and tumult. Alexander then turning himself unto Xenodochus Cardian, and Artemius Colophonian: Do you not think (said he) that the Grecians are amongst the Macedonians, as demigods that walk among brute beasts? Clitus for all this would not

The malapertness of Clitus

Alexander slew Clitus

give over his imprudency and malapertness, but cried out, and bade Alexander speak openly what he had to say, or else not to bid freemen come to sup with him that were wont to speak frankly: if not, to keep with the barbarous slaves that honoured his Persian girdle, and long white garment. Then could Alexander no longer hold his choler, but took an apple that was upon his table, and threw it at Clitus, and looked for his sword, the which Aristophanes, one of his guard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when every man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented: he immediately rose from the board, and called his guard unto him in the Macedonian tongue, (which was a sign of great trouble to follow after it) and commanded a trumpeter to sound the alarm. But he drawing back, would not sound: whereupon Alexander strake him with his fist. Notwithstanding, the trumpeter was greatly commended afterwards, for that he only kept the camp that they rose not. All this could not quiet Clitus, whereupon his friends with much ado thrust him out of the hall: but he came in again at another door, and arrogantly and unreverently rehearsed this verse of the poet Euripides, out of Andromache's tragedy:

> Alas for sorrow, evil ways
> Are into Greece crept nowadays.

Then Alexander taking a partisan from one of his guard, as Clitus was coming towards him, and had lift up the hanging before the door, he ran him through the body, so that Clitus fell to the ground, and fetching one groan, died presently. Alexander's choler had left him straight, and he became

marvellous sorrowful: and when he saw his friends round about him say never a word, he pluckt the partisan out of his body, and would have thrust it into his own throat. Howbeit his guard about him caught him by the hands, and carried him perforce into his chamber: and there he did nothing all that night but weep bitterly, and the next day following, until such time as he was able to cry no more, but lying on the ground, only lay sighing. His friends hearing his voice no more, were affrayed, and came into his chamber by force to comfort him. But Alexander would hear none of them, saving Aristander the Soothsayer, who remembered him of his dream he had of Clitus before, which was, a prognostication of that which had happened: whereby it appeared that it was his destiny before he was born. This seemed to comfort Alexander. Afterwards they brought in Callisthenes the Philosopher, a kinsman of Aristotle's, and Anaxarchus born in Abdera. Of these two, Callisthenes sought by gentle talk, not moving any matter offensive, to comfort Alexander's sorrow. But Anaxarchus that from the beginning had taken a way by himself in the study of philosophy, being accounted a brain-sick man, and one that despised his companions: he coming into Alexander's chamber also with him, cried out at the door as he came in: See, yonder is Alexander the Great whom all the world looks upon, and is afraid of. See where he lies, weeping like a slave on the ground, that is afraid of the law, and of the reproach of men: as if he himself should not give them law, and stablish the bounds of justice or injustice, sithence he hath overcome to be lord and maister, and not to be subject and slave

and grievously repented him

Callisthenes and Anaxarchus

to a vain opinion. Knowest thou not that the poets say, that Jupiter hath Themis, to wit, right, and justice, placed of either hand on him? what signifieth that, but all that the prince doth, is wholly right, and just? These words of Anaxarchus did comfort the sorrowful heart of King Alexander at that time, but therewithal, they made Alexander's manners afterwards more fierce and dissolute. For, as he thereby did marvellously grow in favour with the king, even so did he make the company of Callisthenes, (who of himself was not very pleasant: because of his gravity and sourness) much more hateful and misliked than before. It is written also that there was certain talk one night at King Alexander's board touching the seasons of the year, and temperateness of the air, and that Callisthenes was of their opinion which maintained, that the country they were in at that time was much colder, and the winter also sharper than in Greece. Anaxarchus held the contrary opinion, and stiffly maintained it, insomuch as Callisthenes said unto him: And yet must thou grant, that it is colder here than there. For there all the winter time thou couldest go with a single cloke on thy back only, and here thou must have three or four garments upon thee when thou art at thy board. This galled Anaxarchus to the quick, and made him more angry than before: and for the other rhetoricians and flatterers, they did also hate him, because they saw him followed of young men for his eloquence, and beloved also of old men for his honest life, the which was very grave, modest, and contented with his own, desiring no man's else. Whereby men found, that the reason he alleged for following of Alexander in this

voyage, was true: for he said that he came to be an humble suitor to the king to restore his banished citizens into their country again, and to replenish their city with inhabitants. Now, though his estimation made him chiefly to be envied, yet did he himself give his enemies occasion to accuse him. For oftentimes being invited by the king to supper, either he would not come, or if he came, he would be mute, and say nothing, shewing by his gravity and silence, that nothing pleased him that was either said or done. Whereupon Alexander self said on a time unto him:

do comfort Alexander

> I cannot think that person wise,
> That in his own case hath no eyes.

It is reported of him also, that being at supper on a time with the king, divers requesting him to make an oration on the sudden in commendation of the Macedonians: he made such an eloquent oration upon that matter, that all they that heard him, rose from the board, and clapping their hands for joy, cast nosegays and flowers upon him. But yet Alexander at that time said unto him that, which the poet Euripides said:

> It is no mastery to be eloquent,
> In handling of a plenteous argument.

Nay, but utter then thy eloquence in reproving of the Macedonians, that hearing their faults, they may learn to amend. Then Callisthenes changing copy, spake boldly many things against the Macedonians. Declaring, that the dissension amongst the Grecians did increase King Philip's power, alleging these verses:

Where discord reigns in realm or town,
Even wicked folk do win renown.

Callisthenes eloquent, but not wise

But by this occasion, he purchased himself great ill-will of the Macedonians: insomuch, as Alexander self said at that time, that he had not so much shewed his eloquence, as the malice he bare unto the Macedonians. Hermippus the historiographer writeth that one Strœbus a clerk of Callisthenes did afterwards tell it unto Aristotle in this sort: and that Callisthenes seeing King Alexander offended with him, did recite these verses of Homer three or four times as he went,

Patroclus who far passéd thee,
Was slain as thou art like to be.

And therefore very wisely said Aristotle, that Callisthenes was eloquent, but not wise. For like a philosopher, he stoutly stood against kneeling to the king, and said that openly, which the noblest and ancientest men among the Macedonians durst but whisper one in another's ear, though they did all utterly mislike it: whereby he did yet deliver Greece from open shame, and Alexander from a greater, bringing him from that manner of adoration of his person. This notwithstanding, he undid himself because he would seem rather by presumption to bring him to it, than by reason to persuade him. Chares Mitylenian hath written, that Alexander having drunk at a certain feast where he happened to be, reached his cup unto one of his friends, who after he had taken it of him, rose up first on his feet, and drank also, turning him towards the gods, and first making solemn reverence, he went and kissed Alexander, and then sat

him down again. All the rest that were at the feast, did the like one after another, and Callisthenes also, who took the cup when it came to his turn (the king not looking on him, but talking with Hephæstion) after he had drunk, came to the king to kiss him as others had done. Howbeit one Demetrius called Phidon, said unto the king: Kiss him not, I pray your grace, for he of all men hath done you no reverence. Alexander turned his head aside, and would not kiss him. Then cried Callisthenes out aloud: Well, quoth he, then I will go my way, with less than others, by a kiss. And thus began Alexander's grudge first against Callisthenes, by means whereof Hephæstion was credited the better, when he said that Callisthenes had promised him to reverence Alexander, although that he had broken promise. After him also Lysimachus, Hagnon, and divers others began to play their parts against him, saying, That this sophister went bragging up and down, as if he had destroyed a whole tyranny, and that all the young men followed him to honour him, as if among so many thousand soldiers, never a man of them had so noble a heart as he. And therefore, when the treason of Hermolaus against Alexander's person was discovered, they found the accusation probable, the which some false detractors had informed against Callisthenes: who had answered Hermolaus that asked him, How he could come to be famous above all men, Thus: in killing the famousest person. And to animate him to go forward with this treason, he had told him further, that he should not be afraid of a golden bed, but remember that he had to do with a man, which was sometime sick and hurt as other men

Callisthenes suspected of treason

The death of Callisthenes

were. This notwithstanding, there was never a one of Hermolaus' confederates, that would once name Callisthenes, what torments soever they abid, to bewray who were their companions. And Alexander self also writing of this treason immediately after, unto Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas said, that their servants which had been racked and put to the torture, did constantly affirm that they only had conspired his death, and no man else was privy unto it. But afterwards, he sent another letter unto Antipater, wherein he directly accused Callisthenes, and said, That his servants had already been stoned to death by the Macedonians, howbeit that he himself would afterwards also punish the master, and those that had sent unto him, and that had received the murtherers into their cities, who came of purpose to kill him. And therein he plainly shewed the ill-will he bare unto Aristotle, for that Callisthenes had been brought up with him, being his kinsman, and the son of Hero, Aristotle's niece. Some say, that Alexander trussed Callisthenes up. Others again report, that he died of sickness in prison. Nevertheless Chares writeth, that Callisthenes was kept prisoner seven months together, because he should have had his judgement in open council even in the presence of Aristotle himself: howbeit, being very fat, he was eaten in the end by lice, and so died, about the time that Alexander was hurt, fighting against the Mallians Oxydracians, in the conquest of India, but these things chanced a good while after. Demaratus Corinthian being very old, had a great desire to go see Alexander: and when he had seen him, he said that the Grecians which were dead long before,

were deprived of that bliss and happiness, that they could not see Alexander sit in the royal seat of King Darius. Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the king's good-will unto him, for he died of a sickness soon after he came unto his camp, and Alexander did honour his funerals: for all the army in their armour did cast up a mound of earth fashioned like a tomb, which was a great compass about, and fourscore cubits high. His ashes afterwards were brought with an honourable convoy, unto the seaside, in a charret with four horses richly set out. Alexander being ready to take his journey to go conquer India, perceiving that his army was very heavy and unwieldsome to remove, for the wonderful carriage and spoils they had with them: the carts one morning being loden, he first burnt his own carriage, and next his friends', and then commanded that they should also set the carriage of the Macedonians afire, which counsel seemed more dangerous to be resolved of, than the proof of the execution fell out difficult. For there were very few of them that were angry therewith, and the most part of them (as if they had been secretly moved by some god) with loud cries of joy, one of them gave unto another such necessary things as they had need of, and afterwards of themselves did burn and spoil all the rest. This made Alexander much more rigorous than he was before, besides that he was already become cruel enough, and without mercy or pardon, did sharply punish every man that offended. For having commanded Menander one of his friends, to keep him a stronghold: he put him to death, because he would not remain there. Furthermore, he himself

Alexander's journey into India

A monstrous lamb appeared

slew Orsodates (a captain of the barbarous people) with a dart, for that he rebelled against him. About that time, there was an ewe that had eaned a lamb, which had upon her head, the form and purple colour of the king's hat, after the Persian manner called tiara, having two stones hanging on each side of it. Alexander abhorred this monstrous sign, insomuch as he purged himself by certain Babylonian priests, which he always carried about with him for that purpose, and said unto his friends: That this monster did not so much move him for respect of himself, as it did for them, fearing that the gods after his death had predestined the force and power of his kingdom to fall into the hands of some base cowardly person. This notwithstanding, another sign and token which chanced in the neck of that, did take away this fear and discouragement he had. For a Macedonian called Proxenus, that had charge of the king's carriage, as he digged in a certain place by the river of Oxus, to set up the king's tent and his lodging, he found a certain fat and oily vein, which after they had drawn out the first, there came out also another clearer, which differed nothing, neither in smell, taste, nor savour: from natural oil, having the gloss and fatness so like, as there could be discerned no difference between them: the which was so much more to be wondered at, because that in all that country there were no olives. They say also, that the water of the river self of Oxus is very soft, and maketh their skins fat, which wash or bathe themselves therein. And yet it appeareth by that which Alexander self wrote unto Antipater, that he was very glad of it, putting that amongst

the greatest signs which the gods had sent unto him. The soothsayers did interpret this wonder, that it was a sign, that he should have a noble, but yet a painful voyage: for the gods, said they, have given oil unto men to refresh their weariness. And truly so did he sustain many dangers in those wars, and was oftentimes hurt in fight. But the greatest loss he had of his men, was for lack of victuals, and by the infection of the air. For he, striving to overcome fortune by valiantness, and her force by vertue, thought nothing impossible for a valiant man, neither anything able to withstand a noble heart. It is reported, that when he went to besiege a stronghold which Sisimethres kept, being thought unsaultable, and that his soldiers were in despair of it: he asked one Oxyartes, what heart Sisimethres had. Oxyartes answered him, That he was the veriest coward in the world. O, that is well, quoth Alexander: then it is to be won, if that be true thou sayest sithence the captain of the piece is but a coward. So he took it of a sudden, by putting Sisimethres in a great fear. After that also, he did besiege another piece of as great strength, and difficulty to assault as the other, and making the young soldiers of the Macedonians to go to the assault, he called one of them unto him, whose name also was Alexander, unto whom he said thus. Alexander, this day thou must fight like a man, and it be but for thy name sake. The young man did not forget his words, for he fought so valiantly, that he was slain, for whom Alexander was very sorry. Another time when his men were afraid, and durst not come near unto the city of Nysa to assault it, because there ran a very deep river hard

The city of Nysa

Acuphis' wise answer unto Alexander

by the walls: he came to the river's side, and said: Oh, what a coward am I, that never learned to swim! and so prepared himself to swim over upon his shield. After he had caused them to retire from the assault, there came ambassadors unto him from the cities besieged, to crave pardon of him. They wondred at him at the first, when they saw him armed, without any pomp or other ceremony about him: but much more, when a chair was brought him to sit down on, that he commanded the oldest man amongst them called Acuphis, to take it to him, and sit him down. Acuphis marvelling at Alexander's great courtesy, asked him: What they should do for him, thenceforth to be his good friends. I will, said Alexander, that they from whom thou comest as ambassador unto us, do make thee their king: and withal that they do send me a hundred of their best men for hostages. Acuphis smiling, answered him again: But I shall rule them better, O king, if I send you the worst, and not the best. There was a king called Taxiles a very wise man, who had a great country in India, no less in bigness and circuit than all Egypt, and as full of good pasture and fruits as any country in the world could be: who came on a time to salute Alexander, and said unto him. What should we need, Alexander, to fight, and make wars one with another, if thou comest not to take away our water, and our necessary commodity to live by: for which things, men of judgement must needs fight? As for other goods, if I be richer than thou, I am ready to give thee of mine: and if I have less, I will not think scorn to thank thee, if thou wilt give me some of thine. Alexander being pleased to hear

him speak thus wisely, embraced him, and said unto him. Thinkest thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for all these goodly fair words? no, no, thou hast won nothing by that: for I will fight and contend with thee in honesty and courtesy, because thou shalt not exceed me in bounty and liberality. So Alexander taking divers gifts of him, but giving more unto Taxiles: he drank to him one night at supper, and said, I drink to thee a thousand talents in gold. This gift misliked Alexander's friends: but in recompence thereof, he wan the hearts of many of those barbarous lords and princes of that country. There was a certain number of soldiers of the Indians, the warlikest men of all that country: who being mercenary soldiers, were ever entertained in service of the great free cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt unto Alexander in divers places. Alexander having made peace with them in a city where they were kept in: when they came abroad upon surety of this peace which they had made, he met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the sword. There was but this only fault, to blemish the honour of his noble deeds in all his wars: for in all things else, he shewed mercy and equity. Furthermore, the grave philosophers and wise men of India did greatly trouble him also. For they reproved the kings and princes of the Indians for that they yielded unto Alexander, and procured the free cities to take arms against him. But by their occasion, he took divers of their cities. For King Porus, Alexander self writeth in his epistles, all his acts at large which he did against him. For he saith, that both their

King Taxiles' talk with Alexander

Alexander's acts against King Porus

camps lying on either side of the river of Hydaspes, King Porus set his elephants upon the bank of the river with their heads towards their enemies, to keep them from passing over: and that he himself did continually make a noise and tumult in his camp, to acquaint his men not to be afraid of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a dark night when there was no moonlight, he took part of his footmen, and the choice of his horsemen, and went far from his enemies to get over into a little island. When he was come into the island, there fell a wonderful shower of rain, great winds, lightnings and thunders upon his camp, insomuch as he saw many of his men burnt by lightning in this little island. This notwithstanding, he did not leave to get over to the other side of the river. The river being swollen with the great flood of rain that fell the night before, overflowing the banks, it did eat into the ground where the water ran: so that Alexander when he had passed over the river, and was come to the other side, found himself in very ill case, for that he could hardly keep his feet, because the earth was very slippery under him, and the rage of the water had eaten into it, and broke it down on every side. It is written of him that then he said unto the Athenians: O Athenians, could ye think that I could take such pains, and put my self into so many dangers, only to be praised of you? Thus Onesicritus reporteth it. But Alexander self writeth, that they left their rafters or great pieces of timber pinned together whereupon they had passed over the stream of e main river: and that they waded through the er arm or gut of the water which had broken

the earth, up to their breasts with their harness on their backs. Furthermore, when he had passed over both waters, he rode with his horsemen twenty furlongs before the battell of his footmen, thinking that if his enemies came to give him charge with their men of arms, that he was the stronger: and if they would also advance their footmen forward, that his footmen also should come time enough. One of the twain fell out as he had guessed. For, a thousand horsemen and three-score chariots armed with his enemies, gave him charge before their great company, whom he overthrew, and took all their chariots, and slew four hundred of the men at arms in the field. King Porus then knowing by those signs that Alexander was there in person, and had passed over the river: he marched towards him with all his army in battell ray, saving a few which he left behind to resist the Macedonians, if they shewed force to pass over the river. Alexander being afraid of the great multitude of his enemies, and of the terror of the elephants, did not give charge upon the midst of the battell, but being himself in the left wing, gave charge upon the corner of the enemies left wing, and also commanded them that were in the right wing to do the like. So, both the ends of the enemies army were broken and put to flight: and they that fled, ran unto the elephants, and gathered themselves together about them. Thus the battell being begun, the conflict continued long, insomuch as the enemies were scantly all overthrown by three of the clock in the afternoon. Many writers do agree, that Porus was four cubits and a shaft-length high, and that being upon an elephant's back, he wanted nothing in

The stature of King Porus

The death of Bucephal

height and bigness to be proportionable for his mounture: albeit it were a very great elephant: and besides that the elephant did shew great wit and care, to save the king his maister. For whilst he perceived his master was strong enough, he lustily repulsed those which came to assail him: but when he found that he began to faint, having many wounds upon his body, and arrows sticking in it: then being afraid lest his maister should fall down from his back, he softly fell on his knees, and gently taking his darts and arrows with his trunk, which he had in his body, he pluckt them all from him one after another. Porus being taken, Alexander asked him, How he should handle him? Princely, answered Porus. Alexander asked him again, If he would say anything else. I comprehend all, said he, in this word princely. Thereupon Alexander did not only leave him his provinces and realms, whereof before he was king, by the name of his lieutenant: but gave him many other countries also. When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteen several nations, five thousand of no small cities, besides an infinite number of villages, and thrice as many other countries: he made Philip one of his friends, his lieutenant of all those countries. His horse Bucephal died at this battell, not in the field, but afterwards whilst he was in cure for the wounds he had on his body: but as Onesicritus saith, he died even worn for very age. Alexander was as sorry for his death, as if he had lost any of his familiar friends: and for proof thereof, he built great city in the place where his horse was buried, on the river of Hydaspes, the which he called,

after his name, Bucephalia. It is reported also, that having lost a dog of his called Peritas, which he had brought up of a whelp, and loved very dearly: he built also a city, and called it after his name. Sotion writeth, that he heard it reported thus of Potamon Lesbian. This last battell against King Porus, killed the Macedonians hearts, and made them that they had no desire to go any farther to conquer India. For, finding that they had such ado to overcome them, though they were but twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horse, they spake ill of Alexander when he went about to compel them to pass over the river of Ganges, understanding by the countrymen that it was two-and-thirty furlong over, and a hundred fathom deep: and how that the bank of the river was full of soldiers, horsemen, and elephants. For it was reported, that the kings of the Gangarides, and the Præsians were on the other side with four-score thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand charrets or carts of war well armed, and six thousand elephants of war. This was no fable, nor frivolous tale. For, a king called Androcottus (who reigned not long after,) gave unto Seleucus, five hundred elephants at one time, and conquered all India with six hundred thousand fighting men. Alexander then offended with his men's refusal, kept close in his tent for certain days, and lay upon the ground, saying, That he did not thank them, for all that they had done thitherunto, unless they passed over the river of Ganges also, and that to return back again, it was as much as to confess that he had been overcome. At the length, when he saw and considered that

The Ganges

Alexander's return out of India

there was great reason in his friends persuasions which laboured to comfort him, and that his soldiers came to the door of his tent, crying and lamenting, humbly beseeching him to lead them back again: in the end he took pity of them, and was contented to return. This notwithstanding, before he departed from those parts, he put forth many vain and false devices to make his name immortal among that people. He made armours of greater proportion than his own, and mangers for horses, higher than the common sort: moreover, he made bits also far heavier than the common sort, and made them to be thrown and scattered abroad in every place. He built great altars also in honour of the gods, the which the kings of the Præsians have in great veneration at this day: and passing over the river, do make sacrifices there, after the manner of the Grecians. Androcottus at that time was a very young man, and saw Alexander himself, and said afterwards, That Alexander had well near taken and won all the country, the king which then reigned, was so hated of all his subjects, for his wicked life, and base parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to see the great sea Oceanus, and made divers boats with oars, in the which he easily went down the rivers at his pleasure. Howbeit, this his pleasant going by water, was not without war: for he would land oftentimes, and did assail cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in assailing the city of the Mallians (which they say are the warlikest men of all the Indians) he was almost slain there. For, having with darts repulsed the enemies from the wall, he himself was the first man

that set foot on a ladder to get up, the which brake as soon as ever he was gotten upon the ramper. Then the barbarous people coming together against the wall, did throw at him from beneath, and many times lighted upon him. Alexander having few of his men about him, made no more ado, but leaped down from the wall in the midst of his enemies, and by good hap lighted on his feet. His harness making a great noise with the fall, the barbarous people were afraid, thinking they had seen some light or spirit go before him: so that at the first they all betook them to their legs, and ran scatteringly here and there. But after that, when they came again to themselves, and saw that he had but two gentlemen only about him, they came and set upon him of all hands, and fought with him at the sword or push of the pike, and so hurt him very sore through his armour: but one among the rest, being somewhat farther off, gave him such a terrible blow with an arrow, that he strake him through his curaces, and shot him in at the side under his breast. The blow entered so into his body, that he fell down on one of his knees. Whereupon, he that had stricken him with his arrow, ran suddenly to him with a scimitar drawn in his hand. Howbeit as Peucestas and Limnæus stepped before him, and were both hurt: Limnæus was slain presently, and Peucestas fought it out, till at the length, Alexander self slew the barbarous man with his own hand, after he had many grievous wounds upon his body. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his neck that so astonied him, that he leaned against the wall looking upon his enemies. In the meantime, the Macedonians compassing him round

Alexander in danger at the city of the Mallians

Alexander's questions propounded

about, took him, and carried him into his tent half in a swoon, and was past knowledge: Whereupon, there ran a rumour straight in the camp, that Alexander was dead. They had much ado to cut the arrow asunder that was of wood: so his curaces being plucked off with great pain, yet were they to pluck the arrow-head out of his body, which stuck in one of his bones: the which as it is reported, was four fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he swooned so oft, that he was almost dead. This notwithstanding, he overcame the danger, and escaped. Being very weak, he kept diet a long time to recover himself, and never came out of his tent: until he heard the Macedonians cry, and made great noise about his tent, desirous to see him. Then he put on a night-gown, and came out amongst them all: and after he had done sacrifice unto the gods for recovery of his health, he went on his journey again, and in the same did conquer many great countries, and took divers goodly cities. He did also take ten of the wise men of the country, which men do all go naked, and therefore are called Gymnosophistæ, (to wit, Philosophers of India) who had procured Sabbas to rebel against him, and had done great hurt unto the Macedonians. And because they were taken to be the sharpest and readiest of answer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard questions, and told them he would put the first man to death, that answered him worst, and so the rest in order: and made the eldest among them judge of their answers. The question he asked the first man, was this:

1. Whether the dead or the living, were the

greater number. He answered, the living. For the dead said he, are no more men. to the philosophers of India

2. The second man he asked: whether the earth, or the sea brought forth most creatures. He answered, the earth. For the sea said he, is but a part of the earth.

3. To the third man: which of all beasts was the subtilest. That (said he) which man hitherto never knew.

4. To the fourth: why he did make Sabbas rebel? Because said he, he should live honourably, or die vilely.

5. To the fifth, which he thought was first, the day, or the night? He answered, the day, by a day. The king finding his answer strange, added too this speech: strange questions, must needs have strange answers.

6. Coming to the sixth man, he asked him: how a man should come to be beloved: If he be a good man said he, not terrible.

7. To the seventh, how a man should be a god? In doing a thing, said he, impossible for a man.

8. To the eighth, which was the stronger: life or death? Life, said he, that suffereth so many troubles.

9. And unto the ninth and last man: how long a man should live? Until said he, he think it better to die, than to live.

When Alexander had heard these answers, he turned unto the judge, and bade him give his judgement upon them. The judge said, they had all answered one worse than another. Then shalt thou die first, said Alexander, because thou hast given such sentence: Not so, O king, quoth he,

Calanus, a wise man of India

if thou wilt not be a liar: because thou saidst, that thou wouldst kill him first, that had answered worst. In fine, Alexander did let them go with rewards. He sent Onesicritus also unto the other wise men of the Indians, which were of greatest fame among them, and that led a solitary and quiet life: to pray them to come unto him. This Onesicritus the Philosopher, was Diogenes the Cynic's scholar. It is reported, that Calanus one of these wise men, very sharply and proudly bade him put off his clothes, to hear his words naked: or otherwise that he would not speak to him, though he came from Jupiter himself. Yet Dandamis answered him more gently. For he having learned what manner of men Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes were, said: That they seemed to have been wise men, and well born, notwithstanding that they had reverenced the law too much in their lifetime. Others write notwithstanding, that Dandamis said nothing else, but asked why Alexander had taken so painful a journey in hand, as to come into India. For Calanus, (whose right name otherwise was Sphines) King Taxiles persuaded him to go unto Alexander: who because he saluted those he met, in the Indian tongue, saying Calé, as much to say, as God save ye: the Grecians named him Calanus. It is reported, that this Calanus did shew Alexander a figure and similitude of his kingdom, which was this. He threw down before him a dry sere piece of leather, and then put his foot upon one of the ends of it. The leather being trodden down on that side, rose up in all parts else, and going up and down withal still treading upon the sides of

the leather: he made Alexander see, that the leather being trodden down on the one side, did rise up of all sides else, until such time as he put his foot in the midst of the leather, and then all the whole leather was plain alike. His meaning thereby, was to let Alexander understand, that the most part of his time he should keep in the middest of his country, and not to go far from it. Alexander continued seven moneths travelling upon the rivers, to go see the great sea Oceanus. Then he took ship, and sailed into a little island called Scillustis, howbeit others call it Psitulcis. There he landed, made sacrifices unto the gods, and viewed the greatness and nature of the sea Oceanus, and all the situation of the coast upon that sea, as far as he could go. Then he made his prayers unto the gods, that no conqueror living after him should go beyond the bounds of his journey and conquest, and so returned homeward. He commanded his ships should fetch a compass about, and leave India on the right hand: and made Nearchus admiral of all his fleet, and Onesicritus chief pilot. He himself in the meantime went by land through the country of the Orites, and there he found great scarcity of victuals, and lost many of his men: so that he carried not out of India the fourth part of his men of war which he brought thither, which were in all, six-score thousand footmen, and fifteen thousand horsemen. Some of them died of grievous diseases, others, by ill diet, others, by extreme heat and drought, and the most of them by hunger, travelling through this barren country, where the poor men lived hardly, and had only a few sheep which they fed with sea fish, that made their flesh

Alexander's navy in the sea

The riot of Alexander's soldiers

savour very ill-favouredly. At the length, when in three-score days' journey he had painfully travelled through this country, he then entered into the country called Gedrosia, where he found great plenty of all kind of victuals, which the governors, kings, and princes, neighbours unto the same, did send unto him. After he had refreshed his army there a little, he went through the country of Carmania, where he continued seven days together banqueting, going still through the country. For night and day, he was feasting continually with his friends upon a scaffold longer than broad, rising up of height, and drawn with eight goodly horse. After that scaffold followed divers other chariots covered over, some with goodly rich arras, and purple silk, others with trim fresh boughs which they renewed at every field's end: and in those were Alexander's other friends and captains with garlands of flowers upon their heads, which drank and made merry together. In all this army, there was neither helmet, pike, dart, nor target seen: but gold and silver bowls, cups, and flagons in the soldiers' hands, all the way as they went, drawing wine out of great pipes and vessels which they carried with them, one drinking to another, some marching in the fields going forward, and others also set at the table. About them were the minstrels playing and piping on their flutes and shalms, and women singing and dancing, and fooling by the way as they went. In all this dissolute marching through the country, and in the midst of their drunkenness, they mingled with it sport: that every man did strive to counterfeit all the insolencies of Bacchus, as if god Bacchus himself had been there in person, and had led the

mummery. When he came unto the king's castle of Gedrosia, he stayed there also certain days to refresh his army with feasting and banqueting. It is said, that one day when he had drunk hard, he went to see the games for dancing and amongst them, the games which a young man called Bagoas had set forth (with whom Alexander fell in liking), and bare the bell. This Bagoas being in his dancing garments, came through the theatre, and sat him down by Alexander. The Macedonians were so glad of it, that they shouted and clapped their hands for joy, crying out aloud, to kiss him: So that in fine he took him in his arms, and kissed him, before them all. Thither came Nearchus his admiral unto him: who made report what he had seen and done in his navigation. Alexander was so glad of that, as he was desirous to sail by sea himself: and so, entering into the sea Oceanus by the mouth of Euphrates, with a great fleet of ships, to compass in all the coasts of Arabia and Africk, and thence into Mare Mediterraneum, by the straits of the Pillars of Hercules. To this intent he built a great number of ships in the city of Thapsacus, and sent for mariners, shipmasters, and pilots, out of all parts. But now, the difficulty of the journey which he took upon him for the conquest of India, the danger he was in when he fought with the Mallians, and the number of his men which he lost besides which was very great, all these things considered together, making men believe that he should never return with safety: they made all the people (which he had conquered) bold to rise against him, and gave his governors and lieutenants of provinces occasion to commit great insolencies, robberies, and exactions

The provinces rebelled

Alexander's progress

of people. To be short, it put all his kingdom in broil and sedition. Insomuch as Olympias and Cleopatra rising against Antipater, they divided his government between them: Olympias choosing for her, the kingdom of Epirus: and Cleopatra, the kingdom of Macedon. Which when Alexander had heard, he said his mother was the wisest: for the realm of Macedon would never have suffered a woman to reign over them. Thereupon he sent Nearchus back again to the sea, determining to fill all the sea-coasts with war. As he travelled through the countries far from the sea, he put his captains and governors to death, which had revolted against him: and of those he slew Oxyartes, one of Abuletus sons, by his own hand, running him through with a pike. And when Abuletus self also had brought Alexander three thousand talents only, without any other provision made for victuals for his army: he made him put the money before his horse, which would not once touch it. Then said he unto him: I pray thee to what purpose serveth this provision? and therewithal immediately committed him to prison. As he came through the country of Persia, he first renewed the old custom there, which was: that as oftentimes as the kings did return home from any far journey, they gave unto every woman a crown a-piece. It is said therefore that for this cause, some of their natural kings many times did not return again into their country: and that Ochus amongst others did not so much as once return back again, willingly banishing himself out of his country, of niggardliness, because he would not be at this charge. After that, Cyrus' tomb (king of Persia) being found and

broke up, he put him to death that did it, although he were a Macedonian of the city of Pella, (and none of the meanest) called Polymachus. When he had read the inscription written upon it in the Persian tongue, he would needs also have it written in the Greek tongue: and this it was. O man, whatso thou art, and whencesoever thou comest, for I know thou shalt come: I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Persia, I pray thee envy me not for this little earth that covereth my body. These words pierced Alexander's heart, when he considered the uncertainty of worldly things. There also, Calanus the Indian philosopher, having had a flux a little while, prayed that they would make him a stack of wood, such as they use to burn dead bodies on, and then rode thither on horseback: and after he had made his prayer unto the gods, he cast those sprinklings upon him, which were used to be sprinkled at the funerals of the dead. Then cutting off a lock of his hair before he went up on the woodstack, he bade all the Macedonians that were there farewell, and shook them by the hands, praying them that day to be merry, and drink freely with the king, whom he would see shortly after in the city of Babylon. When he had said these words, he laid him down upon the woodstack, covered his face, and never stirred hand nor foot, nor quitched when the fire took him, but did sacrifice himself in this sort, as the manner of his country was, that the wise men should so sacrifice themselves. Another Indian also, who followed Julius Cæsar, did the like many years after in the city of Athens: and there is his tomb yet to be seen, commonly called the Indian's tomb. When Alexander

Cyrus' epitaph on his tomb

The wonderful gifts of Alexander

came from seeing this sacrifice of Calanus, he did bid divers of his friends and captains to supper to him, and there did bring forth a crown for a reward unto him that drank best. He that drank most of all other, was one Promachus, that drank four gallons of wine, and wan the crown worth a talent: but he lived not above three days after. And of other also that fell in sport to quaffing, who should drink most, there died of them (as Chares writeth) one-and-forty persons: of an extreme cold that took them in their drunkenness and wine. When they were in the city of Susa, he married certain of his friends, and himself also married Statira, one of King Darius' daughters, disposing also of the other Persian ladies (according to their estate and birth) unto his best friends. He made also a solemn feast of common marriages amongst the Macedonians, of them that had been married before. At which feast, it is written, that nine thousand persons sitting at the boards, he gave unto every one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honour of the gods. And there also amongst other wonderful gifts, he did pay all the debts the Macedonians ought unto their creditors, the which amounted unto the sum of ten thousand talents saving a hundred and thirty less. Whereupon Antigenes with one eye, falsely putting in his name amongst the number of the debtors, and bringing in one that said he had lent him money: Alexander caused him to be paid. But afterwards, when it was proved to his face, that there was no such matter: Alexander then was so offended with him, that he banished him his court, and deprived him of his captainship, notwithstanding that he had before

shewed himself a valiant man in the wars. For when he was but a young man, he was shot into the eye, before the city of Perinth, which King Philip did besiege, and at that present time they would have pluckt the arrow out of his eye, but he never fainted for it, neither would suffer them to pull it out, before he had first driven his enemies within the walls of their city. He took this infamy very inwardly, and he was so sorry for it, that every man might see he was like to die for sorrow. Then Alexander fearing he should die, did pardon him, and bade him besides keep the money which was given him. Now the 30,000 young boys which Alexander had left to the government of captains, to train and exercise them in the discipline of war: they being grown strong men, and lusty youths, excellently well trained and ready in arms: Alexander rejoiced when he saw them. This notwithstanding did much discourage the Macedonians, and made them greatly afraid, because they thought that from thenceforth the king would make less account of them. For when Alexander would have sent the sick and impotent persons, which had been maimed in the wars, into the low country, to the seaside: they answered him, that so doing he should do them great wrong, to send these poor men from him in that sort, (after they had done him all the service they could) home to their country and friends, in worse case than he took them from thence. And therefore they said, if he would send away some, let him send them all away as men unserviceable, specially sithence he had now such goodly young dancers about him, with whom he might go con-

Thirty thousand boys of the Persians

The clemency and liberality of Alexander

quer the world. Alexander was marvellously offended with their proud words, insomuch that in his anger he reviled them all, put away his ordinary guard, and took other Persians in their place, making some the guard about his own person, others, his ushers, heralds, and ministers to execute his will and commandment. The poor Macedonians seeing Alexander thus waited on, and themselves so shamefully rejected: they let fall their stoutness, and after they had communed of the matter together, they were ready to tear themselves for spite and malice. In fine when they had laid their heads together, they consented to go unto his tent and without weapons, naked in their shirts to yield themselves unto him weeping and howling, beseeching him to do with them what pleased him, and to use them like wretched unthankful creatures. But Alexander, though his anger was now somewhat pacified, did not receive them the first time, neither did they also go their ways, but remained there two days and nights together, in this pitiful state, before the door of his tent, lamenting unto him, and calling him their sovereign and king, until that he came himself out of his tent the third day, and seeing the poor wretches in this grievous and pitiful state, he himself fell a-weeping a long time. So, after he had a little rebuked them, he called them courteously, and gave the impotent and sick persons leave to depart home, rewarding them very honourably. Furthermore, he wrote unto Antipater his lieutenant, that he should always give them the highest place in all common sports and assemblies, and that they should be crowned with garlands of flowers. Moreover, he commanded

that the orphans whose parents were slain in the wars, should receive the pay of their fathers. After Alexander was come unto the city of Ecbatana, in the kingdom of Media, and that he had despatched his weightiest causes: he gave himself again unto publick sports, feasts, and pastimes, for that there were newly come unto him out of Greece, three thousand excellent maisters and devisers of such sports. About that time it chanced, that Hephæstion fell sick of an ague. But he being a young man of war, did not regard his mouth as he should have done, but having spied opportunity that his physician Glaucus was gone unto the theatre, to see the sports and pastimes: he went to dinner, and eat a roasted capon whole, and drank a great pot full of wine, which he had caused to be set in water: whereupon his fever took him so sorely, that he lived not long after. Alexander unwisely took the chance of his death, and commanded all the hairs of his horse and mules to be presently shorn in token of mourning, and that all the battlements of the walls of cities should also be overthrown, and hung up poor Glaucus his physician upon a cross, and commanded that no minstrel should be heard play of any kind of instrument within his camp: until that there was brought him an oracle from Jupiter Ammon, commanding that Hephæstion should be worshipped and sacrificed unto, as a demigod. In the end, to pass over his mourning and sorrow, he went unto the wars, as unto a hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the Cossæans, whom he pluckt up by the roots, and slew man, woman, and child. And this was called the sacrifice of He-

The death of Hephæstion

Stasicrates an excellent image maker

phæstion's funerals. Alexander furthermore being desirous to bestow ten thousand talents cost upon his obsequies and funerals, and also to exceed the charge by the rareness and excellency of workmanship: amongst all other excellent workmasters, he desired one Stasicrates, for he had ever passing invention, and his work was always stately and sumptuous in any new things he took in hand. For he talking one day with Alexander, told him, that of all the mountains he knew in the world, he thought there was none more excellent to resemble the statue or image of a man, then was Mount Athos in Thrace; and that if it were his pleasure, he would make him the noblest and most durable image, that should be in the world, which in his left hand should hold a city to contain ten thousand persons, and out of his right hand, there should run a great river into the sea. Yet Alexander would not hearken to him, but then was talking with other workmen of more strange inventions, and far greater cost. Now as he was ready to take his journey to go unto Babylon: Nearchus his admiral came again unto him from the great sea Oceanus, by the river of Euphrates, and told him, how certain Chaldean soothsayers came unto him, who did warn him that he should not go into Babylon. Howbeit Alexander made no reckoning of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the walls of Babylon, he saw a great number of crows fighting and killing one of another, and some of them fell down dead hard by him. Afterwards being told him that Apollodorus the governor of the city of Babylon, having sacrificed unto the gods, to know what should happen to him he sent for the soothsayer Pythagoras, to know

of him if it were true. The soothsayer denied it not. Then Alexander asked him, what signs he had in the sacrifice. He answered, That the liver of the beast had no head. O gods, said Alexander then, this is an ill sign: notwithstanding he did Pythagoras no hurt, but yet he repented him that he did not believe Nearchus' words. For this respect therefore Alexander lay much abroad in the country from Babylon, and did take his pleasure rowing up and down the river of Euphrates. Yet had he many other ill signs and tokens one upon another, that made him affraid. For there was a tame ass that killed one of the greatest and goodliest lions in all Babylon, with one of his feet. Another time when Alexander had put off his clothes, to be nointed to play at tennis: When he should put on his apparel again, the young gentlemen that played with him, found a man set in his chair of state, having the king's diadem on his head, and his gown on his back, and said never a word. Then they asked him what he was? It was long before he made them answer, but at the length coming to himself, he said his name was Dionysius, born in Messené: and being accused for certain crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thither, where he had been a long time prisoner, and also that the god Serapis had appeared unto him, and undone his irons, and that he commanded him to take the king's gown, and his diadem, and to sit him down in his chair of state, and say never a word. When Alexander heard it, he put him to death according to the counsel of his soothsayers: but then his mind was troubled, and feared that the gods had forsaken him, and also grew to

Diverse signs before Alexander's death

Alexander feared Antipater

suspect his friends. But first of all, Alexander feared Antipater and his sons, above all other. For one of them called Iolas, was his first cupbearer: and his brother called Cassander, was newly come out of Greece unto him. The first time that Cassander saw some of the barbarous people reverencing Alexander, he having been brought up with the liberty of Greece, and had never seen the like before: fell into a loud laughing very unreverently. Therewith King Alexander was so offended, that he took him by the hair of his head with both his hands, and knocked his head and the wall together. Another time also when Cassander did answer some that accused his father Antipater: King Alexander took him up sharply, and said unto him, What sayest thou, said he? Doest thou think that these men would have gone so long a journey as this, falsely to accuse thy father, if he had not done them wrong? Cassander again replied unto Alexander, and said, That that was a manifest proof of their false accusation, for that they did now accuse him being so far off, because they thought they could not sodainly be disproved. Alexander thereat fell a-laughing a good, and said, Lo, these are Aristotle's quiddities to argue *pro* and *contra:* but this will not save you from punishment, if I find that you have done these men wrong. In fine, they report that Cassander took such an inward fear and conceit upon it, that long time after when he was King of Macedon, and had all Greece at his commandment: going up and down the city of Delphes, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of Alexander, which put him into such a sudden fear, that the hairs of

his head stood upright, and his body quaked in such sort, that it was a great time before he could come to himself again. Now after that Alexander had left his trust and confidence in the gods, his mind was so troubled and affraid, that no strange thing happened unto him, how little soever it was) but he took it straight for a sign and prediction from the gods: so that his tent was always full of priests and soothsayers that did nothing but sacrifice and purify, and tend unto divinements. So horrible a thing is the mistrust and contempt of the gods, when it is begotten in the hearts of men, and superstition also so dreadful, that it filleth the guilty consciences and fearful hearts like water distilling from above: as at that time it filled Alexander with all folly, after that fear had once possessed him. This notwithstanding, after that he had received some answers touching Hephæstion from the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, he left his sorrow, and returned again to his banquets and feasting. For he did sumptuously feast Nearchus, and one day when he came out of his bath according to his manner, being ready to go to bed, Medius one of his captains besought him to come to a banquet to him to his lodging. Alexander went thither, and drank there all that night and the next day, so that he got an ague by it. But that came not (as some write) by drinking up Hercules' cup all at a draught: neither for the sudden pain he felt between his shoulders, as if he had been thrust into the back with a spear. For all these were thought to be written by some, for lies and fables, because they would have made the end of this great tragedy lamentable and pitiful. But Aristobulus writeth,

Alexander fell sick of an ague

Aristobulus' report

that he had such an extreme fever and thirst withal, that he drank wine, and after that fell a-raving, and at the length died the thirtieth day of the moneth of June. In his household book of things passed daily, it is written, that his fever being upon him, he slept at his hothouse on the eighteenth day of June. The next morning after he was come out of his hothouse, he went into his chamber, and passed away all that day with Medius, playing at dice: and at night very late, after he had bathed himself and sacrificed unto the gods, he fell to meat, and had his fever that night. And the twentieth day also, bathing himself again, and making his ordinary sacrifice to the gods, he did sit down to eat within his stove, hearkening unto Nearchus that told him strange things he had seen in the great sea Oceanus. The one-and-twentieth day also having done the like as before, he was much more inflamed than he had been, and felt himself very ill all night, and the next day following in a great fever: and on that day he made his bed to be removed, and to be set up by the fish ponds, where he commoned with his captains touching certain rooms that were void in his army, and commanded them not to place any men that were not of good experience. The three-and-twentieth day having an extreme fever upon him, he was carried unto the sacrifices, and commanded that his chiefest captains only should remain in his lodging, and that the other meaner sort, as centeniers or lieutenants of bands, that they should watch and ward without. The four-and-twentieth day, he was carried unto the other palace of the kings, which is on the other side of the lake, where he slept a little, but the

fever never left him; and when his captains and noblemen came to do him humble reverence, and to see him, he lay speechless. So did he the five-and-twentieth day also: insomuch as the Macedonians thought he was dead. Then they came and knocked at the palace gate, and cried out unto his friends and familiars, and threatened them, so that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereupon the gates were opened, and they coming in their gowns went unto his bedside to see him. That self day Python and Seleucus were appointed by the king's friends to go to the temple of the god Serapis, to know if they should bring King Alexander thither. The god answered them, that they should not remove him from thence. The eight-and-twentieth day at night Alexander died. Thus it is written word for word in manner, in the household book of remembrance. At that present time, there was no suspicion that he was poisoned. Yet they say, that six years after, there appeared some proof that he was poisoned. Whereupon his mother Olympias put many men to death, and cast the ashes of Iolas into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was said he gave him poison in his drink. They that think it was Aristotle that counselled Antipater to do it, by whose mean the poison was brought: they say that Hagnothemis reported it, having heard it of King Antigonus' own mouth. The poison (as some say) was cold as ice, and falleth from a rock in the territory of the city of Nonacris, and it is gathered as they would gather a dew, into the horn of the foot of an ass, for there is no other kind of thing that will keep it, it is so extreme cold and piercing. Others

of the sickness and death of Alexander

Statira slain by Roxana

maintain, and say, that the report of his poisoning is untrue: and for proof thereof they allege this reason, which is of no small importance, that is: That the chiefest captains fell at great variance after his death, so that the corpse of Alexander remained many days naked without burial, in a hot dry country, and yet there never appeared any sign or token upon his body, that he was poisoned, but was still a clean and fair corpse as could be. Alexander left Roxana great with child, for the which the Macedonians did her great honour: but she did malice Statira extremely, and did finely deceive her by a counterfeit letter she sent, as if it had come from Alexander, willing her to come unto him. But when she was come, Roxana killed her and her sister, and then threw their bodies into a well, and filled it up with earth, by Perdiccas' help and consent. Perdiccas came to be king, immediately after Alexander's death, by means of Arrhidæus, whom he kept about him for his guard and safety. This Arrhidæus being born of a strumpet and common woman, called Philinna, was half lunatick, not by nature nor by chance: but as it is reported, put out of his wits when he was a young towardly boy, by drinks which Olympias caused to be given him, and thereby continued frantick.

THE END OF ALEXANDER'S LIFE.

THE LIFE OF
JULIUS CÆSAR

Cæsar joined with Cinna and Marius

At what time Sulla was made lord of all, he would have had Cæsar put away his wife Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna Dictator: but when he saw, he could neither with any promise nor threat bring him to it, he took her jointure away from him. The cause of Cæsar's ill-will unto Sulla, was by means of marriage: for Marius the elder, married his father's own sister, by whom he had Marius the younger, whereby Cæsar and he were cousin-germans. Sulla being troubled in weighty matters, putting to death so many of his enemies, when he came to be conqueror, he made no reckoning of Cæsar: but he was not contented to be hidden in safety, but came and made suit unto the people for the priesthoodship that was void, when he had scant any hair on his face. Howbeit he was repulsed by Sulla's means, that secretly was against him. Who, when he was determined to have killed him, some of his friends told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But Sulla told them again, that they did not consider that there were many Marians in that young boy. Cæsar understanding that, stale out of Rome, and hid himself a long time in the country of the Sabines, wandering still from place to place. But one day being carried from house to house, he fell

Cæsar taken of pirates

into the hands of Sulla's soldiers, who searched all those places, and took them whom they found hidden. Cæsar bribed the captain, whose name was Cornelius, with two talents which he gave him. After he had escaped them thus, he went unto the seaside and took ship, and sailed into Bithynia to go unto King Nicomedes. When he had bin with him a while, he took sea again, and was taken by pirates about the Isle of Pharmacusa: for those pirates kept all upon that sea-coast, with a great fleet of ships and boats. They asking him at the first twenty talents for his ransom, Cæsar laughed them to scorn, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, and of himself promised them fifty talents. Then he sent his men up and down to get him this money, so that he was left in manner alone among these thieves of the Cilicians, (which are the cruellest butchers in the world) with one of his friends, and two of his slaves only: and yet he made so little reckoning of them, that when he was desirous to sleep, he sent unto them to command them to make no noise. Thus was he eight-and-thirty days among them, not kept as prisoner, but rather waited upon by them as a prince. All this time he would boldly exercise himself in any sport or pastime they would go to. And other while also he would write verses, and make orations, and call them together to say them before them: and if any of them seemed as though they had not understood him, or passed not for them, he called them blockheads and brute beasts, and laughing, threatened them that he would hang them up. But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and took all in good part, thinking that this his

bold speech came, through the simplicity of his youth. So when his ransom was come from the city of Miletus, they being paid their money, and he again set at liberty: he then presently armed, and manned out certain ships out of the haven of Miletus, to follow those thieves, whom he found yet riding at anker in the same island. So he took the most of them, and had the spoil of their goods, but for their bodies, he brought them into the city of Pergamum, and there committed them to prison, whilst he himself went to speak with Junius, who had the government of Asia, as unto whom the execution of these pirates did belong, for that he was Prætor of that country. But this Prætor having a great fancy to be fingering of the money, because there was good store of it: answered, That he would consider of these prisoners at better leisure. Cæsar leaving Junius there, returned again unto Pergamum, and there hung up all these thieves openly upon a cross, as he had oftentimes promised them in the isle he would do, when they thought he did but jest. Afterwards when Sulla's power began to decay, Cæsar's friends wrote unto him, to pray him to come home again. But he sailed first unto Rhodes, to study there a time under Apollonius the son of Molon, whose scholar also Cicero was, for he was a very honest man, and an excellent good rhetorician. It is reported that Cæsar had an excellent natural gift to speak well before the people, and besides that rare gift, he was excellently well studied, so that doubtless he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, and gave place to the first, because he would be the first and chiefest man of war and authority, being not yet

Cæsar's eloquence

Cæsar a follower of the people

come to the degree of perfection to speak well, which his nature could have performed in him, because he was given rather to follow wars and to manage great matters, which in the end brought him to be lord of all Rome. And therefore in a book he wrote against that which Cicero made in the praise of Cato, he prayeth the readers not to compare the style of a soldier, with the eloquence of an excellent orator, that had followed it the most part of his life. When he was returned again unto Rome, he accused Dolabella for his ill-behaviour in the government of his province, and he had divers cities of Greece that gave in evidence against him. Notwithstanding, Dolabella at the length was dismissed. Cæsar, to requite the good-will of the Grecians, which they had shewed him in his accusation of Dolabella, took their cause in hand, when they did accuse Publius Antonius before Marcus Lucullus, Prætor of Macedon: and followed it so hard against him in their behalf, that Antonius was driven to appeal before the Tribunes at Rome, alleging, to colour his appeal withal, that he could have no justice in Greece against the Grecians. Now Cæsar immediately wan many men's goodwills at Rome, through his eloquence, in pleading of their causes: and the people loved him marvellously also, because of the courteous manner he had to speak to every man, and to use them gently, being more ceremonious therein than was looked for in one of his years. Furthermore, he ever kept a good board, and fared well at his table, and was very liberal besides: the which indeed did advance him forward, and brought him in estimation with the people. His enemies judg-

ing that his favour of the common people would soon quail, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expense: suffered him to run on, till by little and little he was grown to be of great strength and power. But in fine, when they had thus given him the bridle to grow to this greatness, and that they could not then pull him back, though indeed in sight it would turn one day to the destruction of the whole state and commonwealth of Rome: too late they found, that there is not so little a beginning of anything, but continuance of time will soon make it strong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatness. Thereupon, Cicero like a wise shipmaister that feareth the calmness of the sea, was the first man that mistrusting his manner of dealing in the commonwealth, found out his craft and malice, which he cunningly cloked under the habit of outward curtesy and familiarity. And yet, said he, when I consider how finely he combeth his fair bush of hair, and how smooth it lieth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger only: my mind gives me then, that such a kind of man should not have so wicked a thought in his head, as to overthrow the state of the commonwealth. But this was long time after that. The first shew and proof of the love and good-will which the people did bear unto Cæsar, was: when he sued to be Tribune of the soldiers (to wit, colonel of a thousand footmen) standing against Caius Pompilius, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second and more manifest proof than the first, was at the death of his aunt Julia, the wife of Marius the elder. For being her nephew, he made

Cicero's judgement of Cæsar

The love of the people in Rome unto Cæsar

a solemn oration in the market-place in commendation of her, and at her burial did boldly venture to shew forth the images of Marius: the which was the first time that they were seen after Sulla's victory, because that Marius and all his confederates had been proclaimed traitors and enemies to the commonwealth. For when there were some that cried out upon Cæsar for doing of it: the people on the other side kept a stir, and rejoiced at it, clapping of their hands, and thanked him for that he had brought as it were out of hell, the remembrance of Marius' honour again into Rome, which had so long time been obscured and buried. And where it had been an ancient custom of long time that the Romans used to make funeral orations in praise of old ladies and matrons when they died, but not of young women: Cæsar was the first that praised his own wife with funeral oration when she was dead, the which also did increase the people's good-wills the more, seeing him of so kind and gentle nature. After the burial of his wife, he was made treasurer under Antistius Vetus Prætor, whom he honoured ever after: so that when himself came to be Prætor, he made his son to be chosen treasurer Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he married his third wife Pompeia, having a daughter by his first wife Cornelia, which was married unto Pompey the Great. Now for that he was very liberal in expenses, buying (as some thought) but a vain and short glory of the favour of the people (where indeed he bought good cheap the greatest things that could be), some say, that before he bare any office in the commonwealth, he was grown in debt, to the sum of thirteen

hundred talents. Furthermore, because he was made overseer of the work, for the highway called Appius' way, he disbursed a great sum of his own money towards the charges of the same. And on the other side, when he was made Ædilis, for that he did shew the people the pastime of three hundred and twenty couple of sword players, and did besides exceed all other in sumptuousness in the sports and common feasts which he made to delight them withal: (and did as it were drown all the stately shews of others in the like, that had gone before him) he so pleased the people, and wan their love therewith, that they devised daily to give him new offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in Rome, to wit, the faction of Sulla, which was very strong and of great power, and the other of Marius, which then was under foot and durst not shew itself. But Cæsar because he would renew it again, even at that time when he being Ædilis, all the feasts and common sports were in their greatest ruff: he secretly caused images of Marius to be made, and of victories that carried triumphs, and those he set up one night within the Capitol. The next morning when every man saw the glistering of these golden images excellently well wrought, shewing by the inscriptions, that they were the victories which Marius had won upon the Cimbrians: every one marvelled much at the boldness of him that durst set them up there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon it ran straight through all the city, and every man came thither to see them. Then some cried out upon Cæsar, and said it was a tyranny which he meant to set up, by re-

Cæsar's prodigality

Cæsar accused to make a rebellion

newing of such honours as before had been trodden under foot, and forgotten, by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a bait to gauge the people's good-wills, which he had set out in the stately shews of his common plays, to see if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide such parts to be played, and a new alteration of things to be made. They of Marius' faction on the other side, encouraging one another, shewed themselves straight a great number gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitol ring again with their cries and clapping of hands: insomuch as the tears ran down many of their cheeks for very joy, when they saw the images of Marius, and they extolled Cæsar to the skies, judging him the worthiest man of all the kinred of Marius. The Senate being assembled thereupon, Catulus Lutatius one of the greatest authority that time in Rome, rose, and vehemently inveighed against Cæsar, and spake that then which ever since hath been noted much: that Cæsar did not now covertly go to work, but by plain force sought to alter the state of the commonwealth. Nevertheless, Cæsar at that time answered him so that the Senate was satisfied. Thereupon they that had him in estimation did grow in better hope than before, and persuaded him, that hardily he should give place to no man, and that through the good-will of the people, he should be better than all they, and come to be the chiefest man of the city. At that time, the chief bishop Metellus died, and two of the notablest men of the city, and of greatest authority (Isauricus and Catulus) contended for his room: Cæsar notwithstanding their contention, would give neither of

them both place, but presented himself to the people, and made suit for it as they did. The suit being equal betwixt either of them, Catulus, because he was a man of greater calling and dignity than the other, doubting the uncertainty of the election: sent unto Cæsar a good sum of money, to make him leave off his suit. But Cæsar sent him word again, that he would lend a greater sum than that, to maintain the suit against him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the door of his house, Cæsar weeping, kissed her, and said: Mother, this day thou shalt see thy son chief bishop of Rome, or banished from Rome. In fine, when the voices of the people were gathered together, and the strife well debated: Cæsar wan the victory, and made the Senate and noblemen all affraid of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then Catulus and Piso fell flatly out with Cicero, and condemned him for that he did not bewray Cæsar, when he knew that he was of conspiracy with Catiline, and had opportunity to have done it. For when Catiline was bent and determined, not only to overthrow the state of the commonwealth, but utterly to destroy the empire of Rome, he scaped out of the hands of justice for lack of sufficient proof, before his full treason and determination was known. Notwithstanding he left Lentulus and Cethegus in the city, companions of his conspiracy: unto whom, whether Cæsar did give any secret help or comfort, it is not well known. Yet this is manifest, that when they were convinced in open Senate, Cicero being at that time Consul, asking every man's opinion in

Cæsar made chief bishop of Rome

Cato's oration against Cæsar

the Senate, what punishment they should have, and every one of them till it came to Cæsar, gave sentence they should die: Cæsar then rising up to speak, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and said, That it was neither lawful, nor yet their custom did bear it, to put men of such nobility to death (but in an extremity) without lawful indictment and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in prison in some city of Italy, where Cicero thought best, until that Catiline were overthrown: the Senate then might at their pleasure quietly take such order therein, as might appear best unto their wisdoms. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withal was uttered with such a passing good grace and eloquence, that not only they which were to speak after him did approve it: but such also as had spoken to the contrary before, revoked their opinion and stuck to his, until it came to Cato and Catulus to speak. They both did sharply inveigh against him, but Cato chiefly: who in his oration made Cæsar suspected to be of the conspiracy, and stoutly spake against him, insomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death. Cæsar coming out of the Senate, a company of young men which guarded Cicero for the safety of his person, did set upon him with their swords drawn. But some say, that Curio covered Cæsar with his gown, and took him out of their hands. And Cicero self, when the young men looked upon him, beckoned with his head that they should not kill him, either fearing the fury of the people, or else that he thought it too shameful and wicked a part. But if that were true, I marvel why

Cicero did not put it into his book he wrote of his Consulship. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he took not the opportunity offered him against Cæsar, only for overmuch fear of the people, that loved him very dearly. For shortly after, when Cæsar went into the Senate, to clear himself of certain presumptions and false accusations objected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer than they were wont: the people came about the council house, and called out aloud for him, bidding them let him out. Cato then fearing the insurrection of the poor needy persons, which were they that put all their hope in Cæsar, and did also move the people to stir: did persuade the Senate to make a frank distribution of corn unto them, for a moneth. This distribution did put the commonwealth to a new charge of five hundred and fifty myriads. This counsel quenched a present great fear, and did in happy time scatter and disperse abroad the best part of Cæsar's force and power, at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer, he never sought any alteration in the commonwealth, but contrarily he himself had a great misfortune fell in his own house, which was this. There was a young nobleman of the order of the Patricians, called Publius Clodius, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence, but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person, as any was else in Rome. He became in love with Pompeia Cæsar's wife, who misliked not withal: notwithstanding she was so straightly looked to, and that Aurelia (Cæsar's mother) an

The love of P. Clodius unto Pompeia

The good goddess and her sacrifices

honest gentlewoman had such an eye of her, that these two lovers could not meet as they would, without great peril and difficulty. The Romans do use to honour a goddess which they call the good goddess, as the Grecians have her whom they call Gynæceia, to wit, the goddess of women. Her, the Phrygians do claim to be peculiar unto them, saying: that she is King Midas' mother. Howbeit the Romans hold opinion, that it is a nymph of wood married unto god Faunus. The Grecians, they say also, that she was one of the mothers of the god Bacchus, whom they dare not name. And for proof hereof, on her feast day, the women make certain tabernacles of vine twigs, and leaves of vine branches, and also they make as the tale goeth, a holy dragon for this goddess, and do set it by her: besides, it is not lawful for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no not within the house it self where they are made. Furthermore, they say that the women in these sacrifices do many things amongst themselves, much like unto the ceremonies of Orpheus. Now when the time of this feast came, the husband, (whether he were Prætor or Consul) and all his men and the boys in the house, do come out of it, and leave it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, and there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most part of the night, and they do besides pass the night away in songs and musick. Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, being that year to celebrate this feast, Clodius who had yet no hair on his face, and thereby thought he should not be bewrayed: disguised himself in a singing wench's apparel, because his face was very like unto a young wench. He finding the gates open, being

secretly brought in by her chambermaid that was made privy unto it: she left him, and ran to Pompeia her mistress, to tell her that he was come. The chambermaid tarried long before she came again, insomuch as Clodius being weary waiting for her where she left him, he took his pleasure, and went from one place to another in the house, which had very large rooms in it, still shunning the light, and was by chance met withal by one of Aurelia's maids, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. Clodius refusing to play, the maid pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: Clodius then answered her, that he tarried for Abra one of Pompeia's women. So, Aurelia's maid knowing him by his voice, ran straight where the lights and ladies were, and cried out, that there was a man disguised in woman's apparel. The women therewith were so amazed, that Aurelia caused them presently to leave off the ceremonies of the sacrifice, and to hide their secret things, and having seen the gates fast locked, went immediately up and down the house with torch light to seek out this man: who at the last was found out in the chamber of Pompeia's maid, with whom he hid himself. Thus Clodius being found out, and known of the women: they thrust him out of the doors by the shoulders. The same night the women told their husbands of this chance as soon as they came home. The next morning, there ran a great rumour through the city, how Clodius had attempted a great villainy, and that he deserved, not only to be punished of them whom he had slandered, but also of the commonwealth and the gods. There was one of the Tribunes of the people that did indict him, and accuse

Clodius taken in the sacrifices of the good goddess

Cæsar putteth away his wife

him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefest of the nobility and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burthened him with many horrible and detestable facts, and specially with incest committed with his own sister, which was married unto Lucullus. Notwithstanding, the people stoutly defended Clodius against their accusations: and this did help him much against the judges, which were amazed, and afraid to stir the people. This notwithstanding, Cæsar presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by Clodius' accuser to be a witness against him, he answered, He knew nothing of that they objected against Clodius. This answer being clean contrary to their expectation that heard it, the accuser asked Cæsar, why then he had put away his wife: Because I will not, said he, that my wife be so much as suspected. And some say, that Cæsar spake truly as he thought. But others think, that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to save Clodius. So Clodius was discharged of this accusation, because the most part of the judges gave a confused judgement, for the fear they stood one way of the danger of the common people if they condemned him: and for the ill opinion of the other side of the nobility, if they did quit him. The government of the province of Spain being fallen unto Cæsar for that he was Prætor: his creditors came and cried out upon him, and were importunate of him to be paid. Cæsar being unable to satisfy them, was compelled to go unto Crassus, who was the richest man of all Rome, and that stood in need of Cæsar's boldness and courage to withstand Pompey's greatness in the

commonwealth. Crassus became his surety unto his greediest creditors for the sum of eight hundred and thirty talents: whereupon they suffered Cæsar to depart to the government of his province. In his journey it is reported, that passing over the mountains of the Alps, they came through a little poor village that had not many households, and yet poor cottages. There, his friends that did accompany him, asked him merrily, if there were any contending for offices in that town, and whether there were any strife there amongst the noblemen for honour. Cæsar speaking in good earnest, answered: I cannot tell that said he, but for my part, I had rather be the chiefest man here, than the second person in Rome. Another time also when he was in Spain, reading the history of Alexander's acts, when he had read it, he was sorrowful a good while after, and then burst out in weeping. His friends seeing that, marvelled what should be the cause of his sorrow. He answered them, Do ye not think said he, that I have good cause to be heavy, when King Alexander being no older than my self is now, had in old time won so many nations and countries. and that I hitherunto have done nothing worthy of my self? Therefore when he was come into Spain, he was very careful of his business, and had in few days joined ten new ensigns more of footmen, unto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against the Calaïcans and Lusitanians, he conquered all, and went as far as the great sea Oceanus, subduing all the people which before knew not the Romans for their lords. There he took order for pacifying of the war, and did as wisely take order for the establishing

Cæsar's acts in Spain

Cæsar reconcileth Pompey and Crassus together

of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them friends one with another, but specially he pacified all suits of law, and strife, betwixt the debtors and creditors, which grew by reason of usury. For he ordained that the creditors should take yearly two parts of the revenue of their debtors, until such time as they had paid themselves: and that the debtors should have the third part to themselves to live withal. He having won great estimation by this good order taken, returned from his government very rich, and his soldiers also full of rich spoils, who called him Imperator, to say sovereign captain. Now the Romans having a custom, that such as demanded honour of triumph, should remain a while without the city, and that they on the other side which sued for the Consulship, should of necessity be there in person: Cæsar coming unhappily at that very time when the Consuls were chosen, he sent to pray the Senate to do him that favour, that being absent, he might by his friends sue for the Consulship. Cato at the first did vehemently inveigh against it, vouching an express law forbidding the contrary. But afterwards, perceiving that notwithstanding the reasons he alleged, many of the Senators (being won by Cæsar) favoured his request: yet he cunningly sought all he could to prevent them, prolonging time, dilating his oration until night. Cæsar thereupon determined rather to give over the suit of his triumph, and to make suit for the Consulship: and so came into the city, and had such a device with him, as went beyond them all, but Cato only. His device was this. Pompey and Crassus, two of the greatest personages of the city of Rome, being at jar together, Cæsar made them friends, and by

that means got unto himself the power of them both: for, by colour of that gentle act and friendship of his, he subtly (unwares to them all) did greatly alter and change the state of the commonwealth. For it was not the private discord between Pompey and Cæsar, as many men thought, that caused the civil war: but rather it was their agreement together, who joined all their powers first to overthrow the state of the Senate and nobility, and afterwards they fell at jar one with another. But Cato, that then foresaw and prophesied many times what would follow, was taken but for a vain man: but afterwards they found him a wiser man, than happy in his counsel. Thus Cæsar being brought unto the assembly of the election, in the middest of these two noble persons, whom he had before reconciled together: he was there chosen Consul, with Calpurnius Bibulus, without gainsaying or contradiction of any man. Now when he was entered into his office, he began to put forth laws meeter for a seditious Tribune of the people, than for a Consul: because by them he preferred the division of lands, and distributing of corn to every citizen, gratis, to please them withal. But when the noblemen of the Senate were against his device, he desiring no better occasion, began to cry out, and to protest, that by the overhardness and austerity of the Senate, they drave him against his will to lean unto the people: and thereupon having Crassus on the one side of him, and Pompey on the other, he asked them openly in the assembly, if they did give their consent unto the laws which he had put forth. They both answered, they did. Then he prayed them to stand by him against those that threatened

Cæsar's first consulship

Marriages of Cæsar and Pompey

him with force of sword to let him. Crassus gave him his word, he would. Pompey also did the like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his sword and target both, against them that would withstand him with their swords. These words offended much the Senate, being far unmeet for his gravity, and undecent for the majesty and honour he carried, and most of all uncomely for the presence of the Senate whom he should have reverenced: and were speeches fitter for a rash light-headed youth, than for his person. Howbeit the common people on the other side, they rejoiced. Then Cæsar because he would be more assured of Pompey's power and friendship, he gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, which was made sure before unto Servilius Cæpio, and promised him in exchange Pompey's daughter, the which was sure also unto Faustus the son of Sulla. And shortly after also, Cæsar self did marry Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, whom he caused to be made Consul, to succeed him the next year following. Cato then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witness, that it was a shameful matter, and not to be suffered, that they should in that sort make havoc of the empire of Rome, by such horrible bawdy matches, distributing among themselves through those wicked marriages, the governments of the provinces, and of great armies. Calpurnius Bibulus, fellow Consul with Cæsar, perceiving that he did contend in vain, making all the resistance he could to withstand this law, and that oftentimes he was in danger to be slain with Cato, in the market-place and assembly: he kept close in his house all the rest of his Consulship. When Pompey had married Julia, he filled all

the market-place with soldiers, and by open force authorised the laws which Cæsar made in the behalf of the people. Furthermore, he procured that Cæsar had Gaul on this side, and beyond the Alps, and all Illyria, with four legions granted him for five years. Then Cato standing up to speak against it: Cæsar bade his officers lay hold on him, and carry him to prison, thinking he would have appealed unto the Tribunes. But Cato said never a word, when he went his way. Cæsar perceiving then, that not only the Senators and nobility were offended, but that the common people also for the reverence they bare unto Cato's vertues, were ashamed, and went away with silence: he himself secretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take Cato from the officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be President of the Senate under him, but left the city, because they could not away with his doings. And of them, there was an old man called Considius, that on a time boldly told him, the rest durst not come to council, because they were afraid of his soldiers. Cæsar answered him again: And why then, dost not thou keep thee at home, for the same fear? Considius replied, Because my age taketh away fear from me: for having so short a time to live, I have no care to prolong it further. The shamefullest part that Cæsar played while he was Consul, seemeth to be this: when he chose P. Clodius Tribune of the people, that had offered his wife such dishonour, and profaned the holy ancient mysteries of the women, which were celebrated in his own house. Clodius sued to be Tribune to no other end, but to destroy Cicero:

Cæsar by Clodius drave Cicero out of Italy

A valiant soldier and a skilful captain

and Cæsar self also departed not from Rome to his army before he had set them together by the ears, and driven Cicero out of Italy. All these things they say he did, before the wars with the Gauls. But the time of the great armies and conquests he made afterwards, and of the war in the which he subdued all the Gauls (entering into another course of life far contrary unto the first) made him to be known for as valiant a soldier and as excellent a captain to lead men, as those that afore him had been counted the wisest and most valiantest generals that ever were, and that by their valiant deeds had achieved great honour. For whosoever would compare the house of the Fabians, of the Scipios, of the Metellians, yea those also of his own time, or long before him, as Sulla, Marius, the two Lucullians, and Pompey self,

Whose fame ascendeth up unto the heavens:

It will appear that Cæsar's prowess and deeds of arms, did excel them altogether. The one, in the hard countries where he made wars: another, in enlarging the realms and countries which he joined unto the empire of Rome: another, in the multitude and power of his enemies whom he overcame: another, in the rudeness and austere nature of men with whom he had to do, whose manners afterwards he softened and made civil: another, in courtesy and clemency which he used unto them whom he had conquered: another, in great bounty and liberality bestowed upon them that served under him in those wars: and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of battels he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had slain

in battell. For in less than ten years' war in Gaul he took by force and assault above eight hundred towns, he conquered three hundred several nations: and having before him in battell thirty hundred thousand soldiers, at sundry times he slew ten hundred thousand of them, and took as many more prisoners. Furthermore, he was so entirely beloved of his soldiers, that to do him service (where otherwise they were no more than other men in any private quarrel) if Cæsar's honour were touched, they were invincible, and would so desperately venture themselves, and with such fury, that no man was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainly by the example of Acilius: who in a battell by sea before the city of Marseilles, boarding one of his enemies ships, one cut off his right hand with a sword, but yet he forsook not his target which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his enemies faces, and made them fly, so that he wan their ship from them. And Cassius Scæva also, in a conflict before the city of Dyrrachium, having one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his shoulder stricken through with a dart, and his thigh with another, and having received thirty arrows upon his shield: he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yield unto them. But when two of them came running to him, he clave one of their shoulders from his body with his sword, and hurt the other in the face: so that he made him turn his back, and at the length saved himself, by means of his companions that came to help him. And in Britain also, when the captains of the bands were driven into a marish or bog full of mire and dirt, and that the enemies did fiercely

The love of Cæsar's soldiers unto him

The wonderful valiantness of his soldiers

assail them there: Cæsar then standing to view the battell, he saw a private soldier of his thrust in among the captains, and fought so valiantly in their defence, that at the length he drave the barbarous people to fly, and by his means saved the captains, which otherwise were in great danger to have been cast away. Then this soldier being the hindmost man of all the captains, marching with great pain through the mire and dirt, half swimming, and half afoot: in the end got to the other side, but left his shield behind him. Cæsar wondering at his noble courage, ran to him with joy to embrace him. But the poor soldier hanging down his head, the water standing in his eyes, fell down at Cæsar's feet, and besought him to pardon him, for that he had left his target behind him. And in Africk also, Scipio having taken one of Cæsar's ships, and Granius Petronius aboard on her amongst other, not long before chosen treasurer: he put all the rest to the sword but him, and said he would give him his life. But Petronius answered him again: That Cæsar's soldiers did not use to have their lives given them, but to give others their lives: and with those words he drew his sword, and thrust himself through. Now Cæsar self did breed this noble courage and life in them. First, for that he gave them bountifully, and did honour them also, shewing thereby, that he did not heap up riches in the wars to maintain his life afterwards in wantonness and pleasure, but that he did keep it in store, honourably to reward their valiant service: and that by so much he thought himself rich, by how much he was liberal in rewarding of them that had deserved it. Furthermore, they did not

wonder so much at his valiantness in putting himself at every instant in such manifest danger, and in taking so extreme pains as he did, knowing that it was his greedy desire of honour that set him afire, and pricked him forward to do it: but that he always continued all labour and hardness, more than his body could bear, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the constitution of his body, he was lean, white, and soft skinned, and often subject to headache, and otherwhile to the falling sickness: (the which took him the first time, as it is reported, in Corduba, a city of Spain) but yet therefore yielded not to the disease of his body, to make it a cloak to cherish him withal, but contrarily, took the pains of war, as a medicine to cure his sick body fighting always with his disease, travelling continually, living soberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the most nights he slept in his coach or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him always able to do something: and in the daytime, he would travel up and down the country to see towns, castles, and strong places. He had always a secretary with him in his coach, who did still write as he went by the way, and a soldier behind him that carried his sword. He made such speed the first time he came from Rome, when he had his office: that in eight days he came to the river of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of horse from his youth, that holding his hands behind him, he would gallop his horse upon the spur. In his wars in Gaul, he did further exercise himself to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupy two secretaries at once with as much as they could

Cæsar had the falling sickness

Cæsar's civility not to blame his friend

write: and as Oppius writeth, more than two at a time. And it is reported, that Cæsar was the first that devised friends might talk together by writing ciphers in letters, when he had no leisure to speak with them for his urgent business, and for the great distance besides from Rome. How little account Cæsar made of his diet, this example doth prove it. Cæsar supping one night in Milan with his friend Valerius Leo, there was served sperage to his board, and oil of perfume put into it instead of salad oil. He simply eat it, and found no fault, blaming his friends that were offended: and told them, that it had been enough for them to have abstained to eat of that they misliked, and not to shame their friend, and how that he lacked good manner that found fault with his friend. Another time as he travelled through the country, he was driven by foul weather on the sudden to take a poor man's cottage, that had but one little cabin in it, and that was so narrow, that one man could but scarce lie in it. Then he said to his friends that were about him: Greatest rooms are meetest for greatest men, and the most necessary rooms for the sickest persons. And thereupon he caused Oppius that was sick to lie there all night: and he himself, with the rest of his friends, lay without doors, under the easing of the house. The first war that Cæsar made with the Gauls, was with the Helvetians and Tigurinians, who having set fire of all their good cities, to the number of twelve, and four hundred villages besides, came to invade that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, as the Cimbri and Teutons had done before: unto whom for valiantness they gave

no place, and they were also a great number of them (for they were three hundred thousand souls in all) whereof there were a hundred four-score and ten thousand fighting men. Of those, it was not Cæsar himself that overcame the Tigurinians, but Labienus his lieutenant, that overthrew them by the river of Arar. But the Helvetians themselves came suddenly with their army to set upon him, as he was going towards a city of his confederates. Cæsar perceiving that, made haste to get him some place of strength, and there did set his men in battell ray. When one brought him his horse to get up on which he used in battell, he said unto them: When I have overcome mine enemies, I will then get up on him to follow the chase, but now let us give them charge. Therewith he marched forward on foot, and gave charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he could make them fly that were in battell. But the greatest trouble he had, was to distress their camp, and to break their strength which they had made with their carts. For there, they that before had fled from the battell, did not only put themselves in force, and valiantly fought it out: but their wives and children also fighting for their lives to the death, were all slain, and the battell was scant ended at midnight. Now if the act of this victory was famous, unto that he also added another as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had escaped from this battell, he gathered together again above a hundred thousand of them, and compelled them to return home into their country which they had forsaken, and unto their towns also which they had burnt: because he feared the Germans would come over the river of Rhine,

The Helvetians slain by Cæsar

Cæsar made war with King Ariovistus

and occupy that country lying void. The second war he made, was in defence of the Gauls against the Germans: although before, he himself had caused Ariovistus their king, to be received for a confederate of the Romans. Notwithstanding, they were grown very unquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainly, that having any occasion offered them to enlarge their territories, they would not content them with their own, but meant to invade and possess the rest of Gaul. Cæsar perceiving that some of his captains trembled for fear, but specially the young gentlemen of noble houses of Rome, who thought to have gone to the wars with him, as only for their pleasure and gain: he called them to council, and commanded them that were afraid, that they should depart home, and not put themselves in danger against their wills, sith they had such womanish faint hearts to shrink when he had need of them. And for himself, he said, he would set upon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion only, saying, that the enemies were no valianter than the Cimbri had been, nor that he was a captain inferior unto Marius. This oration being made, the soldiers of the tenth legion sent their lieutenants unto him, to thank him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fell out with their captains, and all of them together followed him many days' journey with good-will to serve him, until they came within two hundred furlongs of the camp of the enemies. Ariovistus' courage was well cooled, when he saw Cæsar was come, and that the Romans came to seek out the Germans, where they thought, and made accompt, that they durst not have abidden

them: and therefore nothing mistrusting it would have come so to pass, he wondered much at Cæsar's courage, and the more when he saw his own army in a maze withal. But much more did their courages fall, by reason of the foolish women prophesiers they had among them, which did foretell things to come: who, considering the waves and trouble of the rivers, and the terrible noise they made running down the stream, did forewarn them not to fight, until the new moon. Cæsar having intelligence thereof, and perceiving that the barbarous people thereupon stirred not: thought it best then to set upon them, being discouraged with this superstitious fear, rather than losing time, he should tarry their leisure. So he did skirmish with them even to their forts, and little hills where they lay, and by this means provoked them so, that with great fury they came down to fight. There he overcame them in battell, and followed them in chase, with great slaughter, three hundred furlong, even unto the river of Rhine: and he filled all the fields thitherto with dead bodies and spoils. Howbeit Ariovistus flying with speed, got over the river of Rhine, and escaped with a few of his men. It is said that there were slain four-score thousand persons at this battell. After this exploit, Cæsar left his army amongst the Sequans to winter there: and he himself in the meantime, thinking of the affairs at Rome, went over the mountains into Gaul about the river of Po, being part of his province which he had in charge. For there, the river called Rubicon, divideth the rest of Italy from Gaul on this side the Alps. Cæsar lying there, did practise to make friends in Rome, because many came thither to see him: unto

King Ariovistus overthrown

The Belgæ overcome by Cæsar

whom he granted their suits they demanded, and sent them home also, partly with liberal rewards, and partly with large promises and hope. Now during all this conquest of the Gauls, Pompey did not consider how Cæsar interchangeably did conquer the Gauls with the weapons of the Romans, and wan the Romans again with the money of the Gauls. Cæsar being advertised that the Belgæ (which were the warlikest men of all the Gauls, and that occupied the third part of Gaul) were all up in arms, and had raised a great power of men together: he straight made towards them with all possible speed, and found them spoiling and overrunning the country of the Gauls, their neighbours, and confederates of the Romans. So he gave them battell, and they fighting cowardly, he overthrew the most part of them which were in a troup together, and slew such a number of them, that the Romans passed over deep rivers and lakes on foot, upon their dead bodies, the rivers were so full of them. After this overthrow, they that dwelt nearest unto the seaside, and were next neighbours unto the ocean, did yield themselves without any compulsion or fight: whereupon, he led his army against the Nervians, the stoutest warriors of all the Belgæ. They dwelling in the wood country, had conveyed their wives, children and goods, into a marvellous great forest, as far from their enemies as they could: and being about the number of six-score thousand fighting men and more, they came one day and set upon Cæsar, when his army was out of order, and fortifying of his camp, little looking to have fought that day. At the first charge, they brake the horsemen of the Romans, and com-

passing in the twelfth and seventh legion, they slew all the centurions and captains of the bands. And had not Cæsar self taken his shield on his arm, and flying in amongst the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: and the tenth legion also seeing him in danger, run unto him from the top of the hill where they stood in battell, and broken the ranks of their enemies: there had not a Roman escaped alive that day. But taking example of Cæsar's valiantness, they fought desperately beyond their power, and yet could not make the Nervians fly, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in manner slain in the field. It is written that of three-score thousand fighting men, there escaped only but five hundred: and of four hundred gentlemen and counsellors of the Romans, but three saved. The Senate understanding it at Rome, ordained that they should do sacrifice unto the gods, and keep feasts and solemn processions fifteen days together without intermission, having never made the like ordinance at Rome, for any victory that ever was obtained. Because they saw the danger had been marvellous great, so many nations rising as they did in arms together against him: and further, the love of the people unto him made his victory much more famous. For when Cæsar had set his affairs at a stay in Gaul, on the other side of the Alps: he always used to lie about the river of Po in the winter-time, to give direction for the establishing of things at Rome, at his pleasure. For, not only they that made suit for offices at Rome were chosen magistrates, by means of Cæsar's money which he gave them, with the which, bribing the people, they bought their voices, and when they

The Nervii slain by Cæsar

The great lords of Rome come to Luca to Cæsar

were in office, did all that they could to increase Cæsar's power and greatness: but the greatest and chiefest men also of the nobility, went unto Luke unto him. As Pompey, Crassus, Appius, Prætor of Sardinia, and Nepos, Proconsul in Spain. Insomuch that there were at one time, six-score sergeants carrying rods and axes before the magistrates: and above two hundred Senators besides. There they fell in consultation, and determined that Pompey and Crassus should again be chosen Consuls the next year following. Furthermore, they did appoint, that Cæsar should have money again delivered him to pay his army, and besides, did prorogue the time of his government five years further. This was thought a very strange and an unreasonable matter unto wise men. For they themselves that had taken so much money of Cæsar, persuaded the Senate to let him have money of the common treasure, as though he had had none before: yea to speak more plainly, they compelled the Senate unto it, sighing and lamenting to see the decrees they passed. Cato was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before into Cyprus. Howbeit Favonius that followed Cato's steps, when he saw that he could not prevail, nor withstand them: he went out of the Senate in choler, and cried out amongst the people, that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him: some for the reverence they bare unto Pompey, and Crassus, and others favouring Cæsar's proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet themselves, and stirred not. Then Cæsar returning into Gaul beyond the Alps unto his army, found there a great war in the country. For two great

nations of Germany had not long before passed over the river of Rhine, to conquer new lands: and the one of these people were called Ipes, and the other Tenteritæ. Now touching the battell which Cæsar fought with them, he himself doth describe it in his Commentaries, in this sort. That the barbarous people having sent ambassadors unto him, to require peace for a certain time, they notwithstanding, against law of arms, came and set upon him as he travelled by the way, insomuch as eight hundred of their men of arms overthrew five thousand of his horsemen, who nothing at all mistrusted their coming. Again, that they sent him other ambassadors to mock him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole army to march against them, thinking it a folly, and madness, to keep faith with such traitorous barbarous breakers of leagues. Canutius writeth, that the Senate appointing again to do new sacrifice, processions, and feasts, to give thanks to the gods for this victory: Cato was of contrary opinion, that Cæsar should be delivered into the hands of the barbarous people, for to purge their city and commonwealth of this breach of faith, and to turn the curse upon him, that was the author of it. Of these barbarous people, which came over the Rhine (being about the number of four hundred thousand persons) they were all in manner slain, saving a very few of them, that flying from the battell got over the river of Rhine again, who were received by the Sicambrians, another people of the Germans. Cæsar taking this occasion against them, lacking no good-will of himself besides, to have the honour to be counted the first Roman that ever passed over

Cæsar and the German tribes

Cæsar's journey into England

the river of Rhine with an army: he built a bridge over it. This river is marvellous broad, and runneth with great fury. And in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great breadth from one side to the other, and it hath so strong and swift a stream besides: that men casting down great bodies of trees into the river (which the stream bringeth down with it) did with the great blows and force thereof marvellously shake the posts of the bridge he had set up. But to prevent the blows of those trees, and also to break the fury of the stream: he made a pile of great wood above the bridge a good way, and did forcibly ram them into the bottom of the river, so that in ten days' space, he had set up and finished his bridge of the goodliest carpenter's work, and most excellent invention to see to, that could be possibly thought or devised. Then passing over his army upon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the Suevians, which were the warlikest people of all Germany, had gotten themselves, with their goods into wonderful great valleys and bogs, full of woods and forests. Now when he had burnt all the country of his enemies, and confirmed the league with the confederates of the Romans: he returned back again into Gaul after he had tarried eighteen days at the most in Germany, on the other side of the Rhine. The journey he made also into England was a noble enterprise, and very commendable. For he was the first that sailed the West Ocean with an army by sea, and that passed through the sea Atlanticum with his army, to make war in that so great and famous island: (which many ancient writers would not believe that it was so indeed, and

did make them vary about it, saying that it was but a fable and a lie) and was the first that enlarged the Roman empire, beyond the earth inhabitable. For twice he passed over the narrow sea against the firm land of Gaul, and fighting many battels there, did hurt his enemies more, than enrich his own men: because, of men hardly brought up, and poor, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon his war had not such success as he looked for: and therefore taking pledges only of the king, and imposing a yearly tribute upon him, to be paid unto the people of Rome, he returned again into Gaul. There he was no sooner landed, but he found letters ready to be sent over the sea unto him: in the which he was advertised from Rome, of the death of his daughter, that she was dead with child by Pompey. For the which, Pompey and Cæsar both, were marvellous sorrowful: and their friends mourned also, thinking that this alliance which maintained the commonwealth (that otherwise was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now severed, and broken asunder, and the rather likely, because the child lived not long after the mother. So the common people at Rome took the corpse of Julia, in despite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the field of Mars. Now Cæsar being driven to divide his army (that was very great) into sundry garrisons for the winter-time, and returning again into Italy as he was wont: all Gaul rebelled again, and had raised great armies in every quarter to set upon the Romans, and to assay if they could distress their forts where they lay in garrison. The greatest number and most warlike men of these Gauls, that entered into action of rebellion, were

The death of Julia Cæsar's daughter

Cæsar slew the Gauls led by Ambiorix

led by one Ambiorix: and first did set upon the garrisons of Cotta and Titurius, whom they slew, and all the soldiers they had about them. Then they went with three-score thousand fighting men to besiege the garrison which Quintus Cicero had in his charge, and had almost taken them by force, because all the soldiers were every man of them hurt: but they were so valiant and courageous, that they did more than men (as they say) in defending of themselves. These news being come to Cæsar, who was far from thence at that time, he returned with all possible speed, and levying seven thousand soldiers, made haste to help Cicero that was in such distress. The Gauls that did besiege Cicero, understanding of Cæsar's coming, raised their siege incontinently, to go and meet him: making account that he was but a handful in their hands, they were so few. Cæsar to deceive them, still drew back, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meet for a captain that had but a few, to fight with a great number of his enemies, and commanded his men in nowise to stir out to skirmish with them, but compelled them to raise up the ramparts of his camp, and to fortify the gates, as men that were afraid, because the enemies should the less esteem of them: until that at length he took opportunity, by their disorderly coming to assail the trenches of his camp, (they were grown to such a presumptuous boldness and bravery) and then sallying out upon them, he put them all to flight with slaughter of a great number of them. This did suppress all the rebellions of the Gauls in those parts, and furthermore, he himself in person went in the midst of winter thither, where he heard they did rebel: for

that there was come a new supply out of Italy of three whole legions in their room, which he had lost: of the which, two of them Pompey lent him, and the other legion, he himself had levied in Gaul about the river of Po. During these stirs, brake forth the beginning of the greatest and most dangerous war that he had in all Gaul, the which had been secretly practised of long time by the chiefest and most warlike people of that country, who had levied a wonderful great power. For everywhere they levied multitudes of men, and great riches besides, to fortify their strongholds. Furthermore the country where they rose, was very ill to come unto, and specially at that time being winter, when the rivers were frozen, the woods and forests covered with snow, the meadows drowned with floods, and the fields so deep of snow, that no ways were to be found, neither the marishes nor rivers to be discerned, all was so overflown and drowned with water: all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keep Cæsar from setting upon the rebels. Many nations of the Gauls were of this conspiracy, but two of the chiefest were the Arvernians and Carnutes: who had chosen Vercingetorix for their lieutenant-general, whose father the Gauls before had put to death, because they thought he aspired to make himself king. This Vercingetorix dividing his army into divers parts, and appointing divers captains over them, had gotten to take his part, all the people and countries thereabout, even as far as they that dwell towards the sea Adriatick, having further determined (understanding that Rome did conspire against Cæsar) to make all Gaul rise in arms against

The second rebellio of the Gauls

The Ædui rebel against the Romans

him. So that if he had but tarried a little longer, until Cæsar had entered into his civil wars: he had put all Italy in as great fear and danger, as it was when the Cimbri did come and invade it. But Cæsar, that was valiant in all assays and dangers of war, and that was very skilful to take time and opportunity: so soon as he understood the news of the rebellion, he departed with speed, and returned back the self same way which he had gone, making the barbarous people know, that they should deal with an army invincible, and which they could not possibly withstand, considering the great speed he had made with the same, in so sharp and hard a winter. For where they would not possibly have believed, that a post or currer could have come in so short a time from the place where he was, unto them: they wondered when they saw him burning and destroying the country, the towns and strong forts where he came with his army, taking all to mercy that yielded unto him: until such time as the Ædui took arms against him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the Romans, and were greatly honoured of them. Wherefore Cæsar's men when they understood that they had joined with the rebels, they were marvellous sorry, and half discouraged. Thereupon, Cæsar departing from those parts, went through the country of the Lingones, to enter the country of the Burgonians, who were confederates of the Romans, and the nearest unto Italy on that side, in respect of all the rest of Gaul. Thither the enemies came to set upon him, and to environ him of all sides, with an infinite number of thousands of fighting men. Cæsar, on the other

side tarried their coming, and fighting with them a long time, he made them so afraid of him that at length he overcame the barbarous people. But at the first, it seemeth notwithstanding, that he had received some overthrow: for the Arvernians shewed a sword hanged up in one of their temples, which they said they had won from Cæsar. Insomuch as Cæsar self coming that way by occasion, saw it, and fell a-laughing at it. But some of his friends going about to take it away, he would not suffer them, but bade them let it alone, and touch it not, for it was a holy thing. Notwithstanding, such as at the first had saved themselves by flying, the most of them were gotten with their king into the city of Alexia, the which Cæsar went and besieged, although it seemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the walls, as also for the multitude of soldiers they had to defend it. But now during this siege, he fell into a marvellous great danger without, almost incredible. For an army of three hundred thousand fighting men of the best men that were among all the nations of the Gauls, came against him, being at the siege of Alexia, besides them that were within the city, which amounted to the number of three-score and ten thousand fighting men at the least: so that perceiving he was shut in betwixt two so great armies, he was driven to fortify himself with two walls, the one against them of the city, and the other against them without. For if those two armies had joined together, Cæsar had been utterly undone. And therefore, this siege of Alexia, and the battell he wan before it, did deservedly win him more honour and fame, than any other. For there, in that instant and extreme

The sieg of Alexi

Cæsar's danger and wise policy

danger, he shewed more valiantness and wisdom, than he did in any battell he fought before. But what a wonderful thing was this! that they of the city never heard anything of them that came to aid them, until Cæsar had overcome them: and furthermore, that the Romans themselves which kept watch upon the wall that was built against the city, knew also no more of it, than they, but when it was done, and that they heard the cries and lamentations of men and women in Alexia, when they perceived on the other side of the city such a number of glistering shields of gold and silver, such store of bloody corselets and armours, such a deal of plate and movables, and such a number of tents and pavilions after the fashion of the Gauls, which the Romans had gotten of their spoils in their camp. Thus suddenly was this great army vanished, as a dream or vision: where the most part of them were slain that day in battell. Furthermore, after that they within the city of Alexia had done great hurt to Cæsar, and themselves also: in the end, they all yielded themselves. And Vercingetorix (he that was their king and captain in all this war) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horse furnished with rich caparison accordingly, and rode round about Cæsar, who sat in his chair of estate. Then lighting from his horse, he took off his caparison and furniture, and unarmed himself, and laid all on the ground, and went and sat down at Cæsar's feet, and said never a word. So Cæsar at length committed him as a prisoner taken in the wars, to lead him afterwards in his triumph at Rome. Now Cæsar had of long time determined to destroy Pompey, and Pompey him also.

For Crassus being killed amongst the Parthians, who only did see, that one of them two must needs fall: nothing kept Cæsar from being the greatest person, but because he destroyed not Pompey, that was the greater: neither did anything let Pompey to withstand that it should not come to pass, but because he did not first overcome Cæsar, whom only he feared. For till then, Pompey had not long feared him, but always before set light by him, thinking it an easy matter for him to put him down when he would, sith he had brought him to that greatness he was come unto. But Cæsar contrarily, having had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wrestler that studieth for tricks to overthrow his adversary: he went far from Rome, to exercise himself in the wars of Gaul, where he did train his army, and presently by his valiant deeds did increase his fame and honour. By these means became Cæsar as famous as Pompey in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprise in execution, but some occasions of colour, which Pompey partly gave him, and partly also the time delivered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill government at that time of the commonwealth at Rome. For they that made suit for honour and offices, bought the voices of the people with ready money, which they gave out openly to usury, without shame or fear. Thereupon, the common people that had sold their voices for money, came to the market-place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hired them: not with their voices, but with their bows, slings, and swords. So that the assembly seldom time brake up, but that the pulpit for orations was defiled and

The discord betwixt Cæsar and Pompey

The people's voices bought at Rome for money

sprinkled with the blood of them that were slain in the market-place, the city remaining all that time without government of magistrate, like a ship left without a pilot. Insomuch, as men of deep judgement and discretion seeing such fury and madness of the people, thought themselves happy if the commonwealth were no worse troubled, than with the absolute state of a monarchy and sovereign lord to govern them. Furthermore, there were many that were not affraid to speak it openly, that there was no other help to remedy the troubles of the commonwealth, but by the authority of one man only that should command them all: and that this medicine must be ministered by the hands of him, that was the gentlest physician, meaning covertly Pompey. Now Pompey used many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly underhand did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bring it to pass, that he might be chosen Dictator. Cato finding the mark he shot at, and fearing lest in the end the people should be compelled to make him Dictator: he persuaded the Senate rather to make him sole Consul, that contenting himself with that more just and lawful government, he should not covet the other unlawful. The Senate following his counsel, did not only make him Consul, but further did prorogue his government of the provinces he had. For he had two provinces, all Spain, and Africk, the which he governed by his lieutenants: and further, he received yearly of the common treasure to pay his soldiers a thousand talents. Hereupon Cæsar took occasion also to send his men to make suit in his name for the Consulship, and also to have the

government of his provinces prorogued. Pompey at the first held his peace. But Marcellus and Lentulus (that otherwise hated Cæsar) withstood them, and to shame and dishonour him, had much needless speech in matters of weight. Furthermore, they took away the freedom from the colonies which Cæsar had lately brought unto the city of Novum Comum in Gaul towards Italy, where Cæsar not long before had lodged them. And, moreover, when Marcellus was Consul, he made one of the Senators in that city to be whipped with rods, who came to Rome about those matters: and said, He gave him those marks, that he should know he was no Roman citizen, and bade him go his way, and tell Cæsar of it. After Marcellus' Consulship, Cæsar setting open his coffers of the treasure he had gotten among the Gauls, did frankly give it out amongst the magistrates at Rome, without restraint or spare. First, he set Curio, the Tribune clear out of debt: and gave also unto Paul the Consul a thousand five hundred talents, with which money he built that notable palace by the market-place, called Paul's Basilick in the place of Fulvius' Basilick. Then Pompey being affraid of this practice, began openly to procure, both by himself and his friends, that they should send Cæsar a successor: and moreover, he sent unto Cæsar for his two legions of men of war which he had lent him, for the conquest of Gaul. Cæsar sent him them again, and gave every private soldier, two hundred and fifty silver drachmas. Now, they that brought these two legions back from Cæsar, gave out ill and seditious words against him among the people, and did also abuse Pompey with false persuasions and vain hopes, informing him that

Cæsar bribeth the magistrates at Rome

Pompey abused by flatterers

he was marvellously desired and wished for in Cæsar's camp: and that though in Rome, for the malice and secret spite which the governors there did bear him, he could hardly obtain that he desired, yet in Gaul he might assure himself, that all the army was at his commandment. They added further also, that if the soldiers there did once return over the mountains again into Italy, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate Cæsar: because he wearied them with too much labour and continual fight, and withal, for that they suspected he aspired to be king. These words breeding security in Pompey, and a vain conceit of himself, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparation for war, as though he had no occasion to be afraid: but only studied to thwart Cæsar in speech, and to cross the suits he made. Howbeit Cæsar passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of Cæsar's captains which was sent to Rome to prosecute his suit, being at the Senate door, and hearing that they denied to prorogue Cæsar's time of government which he sued for: clapping his hand upon his sword, he said, Sith you will not grant it him, this shall give it him. Notwithstanding, the requests that Cæsar propounded, carried great semblance of reason with them. For he said, that he was contented to lay down arms, so that Pompey did the like: and that both of them as private persons should come and make suit of their citizens to obtain honourable recompense: declaring unto them, that taking arms from him, and granting them unto Pompey, they did wrongfully accuse him in going about to make him-

self a tyrant, and in the meantime to grant the other means to be a tyrant. Curio making these offers and persuasions openly before the people, in the name of Cæsar, he was heard with great rejoicing and clapping of hands, and there were some that cast flowers and nosegays upon him when he went his way, as they commonly use to do unto any man, when he hath obtained victory, and won any games. Then Antonius one of the Tribunes, brought a letter sent from Cæsar, and made it openly to be read in despite of the Consuls. But Scipio in the Senate, Pompey's father-in-law, made this motion: That if Cæsar did not dismiss his army by a certain day appointed him, the Romans should proclaim him an enemy unto Rome. Then the Consuls openly asked in the presence of the Senators, if they thought it good that Pompey should dismiss his army: but few agreed to that demand. After that again they asked, If they liked that Cæsar should dismiss his army: thereto they all in manner answered, Yea, yea. But when Antonius requested again that both of them should lay down arms: then they were all indifferently of his mind. Notwithstanding, because Scipio did insolently behave himself, and Marcellus also, who cried that they must use force of arms, and not men's opinions against a thief: the Senate rose straight upon it without further determination, and men changed apparel through the city because of this dissension, as they use to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from Cæsar, which seemed much more reasonable: in the which he requested that they would grant him Gaul, that lieth between the mountains of the Alps

Cæsar's requests unto the Senate

Antonius and Curio fly from Rome

and Italy, and Illyria, with two legions only, and then that he would request nothing else, until he made suit for the second Consulship. Cicero the Orator, that was newly come from his government of Cilicia, travelled to reconcile them together, and pacified Pompey the best he could: who told him, he would yield to anything he would have him, so he did let him alone with his army. So Cicero persuaded Cæsar's friends to be contented, to take those two provinces, and six thousand men only, that they might be friends and at peace together. Pompey very willingly yielded unto it, and granted them. But Lentulus the Consul would not agree to it, but shamefully drave Curio and Antonius out of the Senate: whereby they themselves gave Cæsar a happy occasion and colour, as could be, stirring up his soldiers the more against them, when he shewed them these two notable men and Tribunes of the people that were driven to fly, disguised like slaves, in a carrier's cart. For, they were driven for fear to steal out of Rome, disguised in that manner. Now at that time, Cæsar had not in all about him, above five thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen: for the rest of his army, he left on the other side of the mountains to be brought after him by his lieutenants. So, considering that for the execution of his enterprise, he should not need so many men of war at the first, but rather suddenly stealing upon them, to make them afraid with his valiantness, taking benefit of the opportunity of time, because he should more easily make his enemies afraid of him, coming so suddenly when they looked not for him, than he should otherwise distress them, assailing them with

his whole army, in giving them leisure to provide further for him: he commanded his captains and lieutenants to go before, without any other armour than their swords, to take the city of Ariminum, (a great city of Gaul, being the first city men come to, when they come out of Gaul) with as little bloodshed and tumult, as they could possible. Then committing that force and army he had with him, unto Hortensius one of his friends: he remained a whole day together, openly in the sight of every man, to see the sword-players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and bathing his body a little, came afterwards into the hall amongst them, and made merry with them a while, whom he had bidden to supper. Then when it was well forward night, and very dark, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be merry, and no man to stir, for he would straight come to them again: howbeit he had secretly before commanded a few of his trustiest friends to follow him, not altogether, but some one way, and some another way. He himself in the meantime took a coach he had hired, and made as though he would have gone some other way at the first, but suddenly he turned back again towards the city of Ariminum. When he was come unto the little river of Rubicon, which divideth Gaul on this side the Alps from Italy: he stayed upon a sudden. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, to think what an enterprise he took in hand: and his thoughts also fell out more doubtful, when he entered into consideration of the desperateness of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with

Cæsar's doubtful thoughts at the river of Rubicon

Cæsar took the city of Ariminum

himself, and spake never a word, waving sometime one way, sometime another way, and oftentimes changed his determination, contrary to himself. So did he talk much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was Asinius Pollio, telling them what mischiefs the beginning of this passage over that river would breed in the world, and how much their posterity and them that lived after them, would speak of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage, all those perilous thoughts to come, and speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt dangerous and desperate enterprises, A desperate man feareth no danger, come on: he passed over the river, and when he was come over, he ran with his coach and never stayed, so that before daylight he was within the city of Ariminum, and took it. It is said, that the night before he passed over this river, he dreamed a damnable dream, that he carnally knew his mother. The city of Ariminum being taken, and the rumour thereof dispersed through all Italy, even as if it had been open war both by sea and land, and as if all the laws of Rome, together with the extreme bounds and confines of the same had been broken up: a man would have said, that not only the men and women for fear, as experience proved at other times, but whole cities themselves leaving their habitations, fled from one place to another through all Italy. And Rome it self also was immediately filled with the flowing repair of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parts like droves of cattell, that there was neither officer nor magistrate that could any more command

them by authority, neither by any persuasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude: so that Rome had in manner destroyed it self for lack of rule and order. For in all places, men were of contrary opinions, and there were dangerous stirs and tumults everywhere: because they that were glad of this trouble, could keep in no certain place, but running up and down the city, when they met with others in divers places, that seemed either to be afraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise it is impossible in so great a city) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatened them with that that was to come. Pompey himself, who at that time was not a little amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill words some gave him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproved him, and said that he had done wisely, and had paid for his folly, because he had made Cæsar so great and strong against him and the commonwealth. And other again did blame him, because he had refused the honest offers and reasonable conditions of peace, which Cæsar had offered him, suffering Lentulus the Consul to abuse him too much. On the other side, Favonius spake unto him, and bade him stamp on the ground with his foot: for Pompey being one day in a bravery in the Senate, said openly: Let no man take thought for preparation of war, for when he listed, with one stamp of his foot on the ground, he would fill all Italy with soldiers. This notwithstanding, Pompey at that time had a greater number of soldiers than Cæsar: but they would never let him follow his own determination. For they brought him so many lies, and put so

Rome in uproar with Cæsar's coming

Pompey flieth from Rome

many examples of fear before him, as if Cæsar had been already at their heels, and had won all: so that in the end he yielded unto them, and gave place to their fury and madness, determining (seeing all things in such tumult and garboil) that there was no way but to forsake the city, and thereupon commanded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tarry there, unless he loved tyranny, more than his own liberty and the commonwealth. Thus the Consuls themselves, before they had done their common sacrifices accustomed at their going out of the city, fled every man of them. So did likewise the most part of the Senators, taking their own things in haste, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another. And there were some of them also that always loved Cæsar, whose wits were then so troubled and besides themselves, with the fear they had conceived: that they also fled, and followed the stream of this tumult, without manifest cause or necessity. But above all things, it was a lamentable sight to see the city it self, that in this fear and trouble was left at all adventure, as a ship tossed in storm of sea, forsaken of her pilots, and despairing of her safety. This their departure being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishment (for the love they bare unto Pompey) to be their natural country, and reckoned Rome no better than Cæsar's camp. At that time also, Labienus, who was one of Cæsar's greatest friends, and had been always used as his lieutenant in the wars of Gaul, and had valiantly fought in his cause: he likewise forsook him then, and fled unto Pompey. But Cæsar sent his money and carriage after him, and then went and encamped

before the city of Corfinium, the which Domitius kept, with thirty cohorts or ensigns. When Domitius saw he was besieged, he straight thought himself but undone, and despairing of his success, he bade a physician, a slave of his, give him poison. The physician gave him a drink which he drank, thinking to have died. But shortly after, Domitius hearing them report what clemency and wonderful curtesy Cæsar used unto them he took: repented him then that he had drunk this drink, and began to lament and bewail his desperate resolution taken to die. The physician did comfort him again, and told him, that he had taken a drink, only to make him sleep, but not to destroy him. Then Domitius rejoiced, and went straight and yielded himself unto Cæsar: who gave him his life, but he notwithstanding stale away immediately, and fled unto Pompey. When these news were brought to Rome, they did marvellously rejoice and comfort them that still remained there: and moreover there were of them that had forsaken Rome, which returned thither again. In the meantime, Cæsar did put all Domitius' men in pay, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any captains, that levied men for Pompey. Now Cæsar having assembled a great and dreadful power together, went straight where he thought to find Pompey himself. But Pompey tarried not his coming, but fled into the city of Brundusium, from whence he had sent the two Consuls before with that army he had, unto Dyrrachium: and he himself also went thither afterwards, when he understood that Cæsar was come, as you shall hear more amply hereafter in

Pompey flieth into Epirus

Cæsar taketh money out of the temple of Saturn

his life. Cæsar lacked no good-will to follow him, but wanting ships to take the seas, he returned forthwith to Rome: so that in less then three-score days, he was lord of all Italy, without any bloodshed. Who when he was come to Rome, and found it much quieter than he looked for, and many Senators there also, he courteously entreated them, and prayed them to send unto Pompey, to pacify all matters between them, upon reasonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, either because they feared Pompey for that they had forsaken him, or else for that they thought Cæsar meant not as he spake, but that they were words of course, to colour his purpose withal. And when Metellus also, one of the Tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common treasure out of the temple of Saturn, but told him that it was against the law: Tush, said he, time of war and law are two things. If this that I do, quoth he, do offend thee, then get thee hence for this time: for war cannot abide this frank and bold speech. But when wars are done, and that we are all quiet again, then thou shalt speak in the pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I do tell thee this of favour, impairing so much my right, for thou art mine, both thou, and all them that have risen against me, and whom I have in my hands. When he had spoken thus unto Metellus, he went to the temple door where the treasure lay: and finding no keys there, he caused smiths to be sent for, and made them break open the locks. Metellus thereupon began again to withstand him, and certain men that stood by praised him in his doing: but Cæsar at length speaking bigly to him, threatened

him he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore, Young man, quoth he, thou knowest it is harder for me to tell it thee, than to do it. That word made Metellus quake for fear, that he got him away roundly: and ever after that, Cæsar had all at his commandment for the wars. From thence he went into Spain, to make war with Petreius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants: first to get their armies and provinces into his hands which they governed, that afterwards he might follow Pompey the better, leaving never an enemy behind him. In this journey he was oftentimes himself in danger, through the ambushes that were laid for him in divers strange forts and places, and likely also to have lost all his army for lack of victuals. All this notwithstanding, he never left following of Pompey's lieutenants, provoking them to battell, and intrenching them in: until he had gotten their camp and armies into his hands, albeit that the lieutenants themselves fled unto Pompey. When Cæsar returned again to Rome, Piso his father-in-law gave him counsel to send ambassadors unto Pompey, to treat of peace. But Isauricus, to flatter Cæsar, was against it. Cæsar being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home again all the banished men, and restored their children to honour, whose fathers before had been slain in Sulla's time: and did somewhat cut off the usuries that did oppress them, and besides, did make some such other ordinances as those, but very few. For he was Dictator but eleven days only, and then did yield it up of himself, and made himself Consul, with Servilius Isauricus, and after that determined

Cæsar Dictator

Complaints of the old soldiers against Cæsar

to follow the wars. All the rest of his army he left coming on the way behind him, and went himself before with six hundred horse, and five legions only of footmen, in the winter quarter, about the moneth of January, which after the Athenians, is called Posideon. Then having past over the sea Ionium, and landed his men, he wan the cities of Oricum and Apollonia. Then he sent his ships back again unto Brundusium, to transport the rest of his soldiers that could not come with that speed he did. They as they came by the way, (like men whose strength of body, and lusty youth, was decayed) being wearied with so many sundry battels as they had fought with their enemies: complained of Cæsar in this sort. To what end and purpose doth this man hale us after him, up and down the world, using us like slaves and drudges? It is not our armour, but our bodies that bear the blows away: and what, shall we never be without our harness on our backs, and our shields on our arms? should not Cæsar think, at the least when he seeth our blood and wounds, that we are all mortal men, and that we feel the misery and pains that other men do feel? And now even in the dead of winter, he putteth us unto the mercy of the sea and tempest, yea which the gods themselves cannot withstand: as if he fled before his enemies, and pursued them not. Thus spending time with this talk, the soldiers still marching on, by small journeys came at length unto the city of Brundusium. But when they were come, and found that Cæsar had already passed over the sea, then they straight changed their complaints and minds. For they blamed themselves, and took on also with

their captains, because they had not made them make more haste in marching: and sitting upon the rocks and cliffs of the sea, they looked over the main sea, towards the realm of Epirus, to see if they could discern the ships returning back, to transport them over. Cæsar in the meantime being in the city of Apollonia, having but a small army to fight with Pompey, it grieved him for that the rest of his army was so long a-coming, not knowing what way to take. In the end he followed a dangerous determination, to embark unknown in a little pinnace of twelve oars only, to pass over the sea again unto Brundusium: the which he could not do without great danger, considering that all that sea was full of Pompey's ships and armies. So he took ship in the night apparelled like a slave, and went aboard upon this little pinnace, and said never a word, as if he had been some poor man of mean condition. The pinnace lay in the mouth of the river of Aöus, the which commonly was wont to be very calm and quiet, by reason of a little wind that came from the shore, which every morning drave back the waves far into the main sea. But that night, by ill fortune, there came a great wind from the sea that overcame the land wind, insomuch as the force and strength of the river fighting against the violence of the rage and waves of the sea, the encounter was marvellous dangerous, the water of the river being driven back, and rebounding upward, with great noise and danger in turning of the water. Thereupon the master of the pinnace seeing he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this river, bade the mariners to cast about again, and to return against the stream.

A great adventure of Cæsar

Cæsar's dangers and troubles

Cæsar hearing that, straight discovered himself unto the master of the pinnace, who at the first was amazed when he saw him: but Cæsar then taking him by the hand said unto him, Good fellow, be of good cheer, and forwards hardily, fear not, for thou hast Cæsar and his fortune with thee. Then the mariners forgetting the danger of the storm they were in, laid on load with oars and laboured for life what they could against the wind, to get out of the mouth of this river. But at length, perceiving they laboured in vain, and that the pinnace took in abundance of water, and was ready to sink: Cæsar then to his great grief was driven to return back again. Who when he was returned unto his camp, his soldiers came in great companies unto him, and were very sorry, that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to overcome his enemies, but would put his person in danger, to go fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the meantime Antonius arrived, and brought with him the rest of his army from Brundusium. Then Cæsar finding himself strong enough, went and offered Pompey battell, who was passingly well lodged, for victualling of his camp both by sea and land. Cæsar on the other side, who had no great plenty of victuals at the first, was in a very hard case: insomuch as his men gathered roots, and mingled them with milk, and ate them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it also, and sometime when they skirmished with the enemies, and came alongst by them that watched and warded, they cast of their bread into their trenches, and said: That as long as the earth brought forth such fruits, they would never leave besieging

of Pompey. But Pompey straightly commanded them, that they should neither carry those words nor bread into their camp, fearing lest his men's hearts would fail them, and that they would be affraid, when they should think of their enemies hardness, with whom they had to fight, sith they were weary with no pains, no more than brute beasts. Cæsar's men did daily skirmish hard to the trenches of Pompey's camp, in the which Cæsar had ever the better, saving once only, at what time his men fled with such fear, that all his camp that day was in great hazard to have been cast away. For Pompey came on with his battell upon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with, and driven into their camp, and their trenches were filled with dead bodies, which were slain within the very gate and bulwarks of their camp, they were so valiantly pursued. Cæsar stood before them that fled, to make them to turn head again: but he could not prevail. For when he would have taken the ensigns to have stayed them, the ensign-bearers threw them down on the ground: so that the enemies took two-and-thirty of them, and Cæsar's self also escaped hardly with life. For striking a great big soldier that fled by him, commanding him to stay, and turn his face to his enemy: the soldier being afraid, lift up his sword to strike at Cæsar. But one of Cæsar's pages preventing him, gave him such a blow with his sword, that he strake off his shoulder. Cæsar that day was brought unto so great extremity, that (if Pompey had not either for fear, or spiteful fortune, left off to follow his victory, and retired into his camp, being contented to have driven his enemies into their camp) returning

Cæsar's army fled from Pompey

Cæsar troubled in mind after his loss

to his camp with his friends, he said unto them: The victory this day had been our enemies', if they had had a captain, that could have told how to have overcome. So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bed, and that night troubled him more, than any night that ever he had. For still his mind ran with great sorrow of the foul fault he had committed in leading of his army, of self-will to remain there so long by the seaside, his enemies being the stronger by sea: considering that he had before him a goodly country, rich and plentiful of all things, and goodly cities of Macedon and Thessaly, and had not the wit to bring the war from thence, but to lose his time in a place, where he was rather besieged of his enemies for lack of victuals, than that he did besiege them by force of arms. Thus, fretting and chafing to see himself so straitened with victuals, and to think of his ill-luck, he raised his camp, intending to go set upon Scipio, making account, that either he should draw Pompey to battell against his will, when he had not the sea at his back to furnish him with plenty of victuals: or else that he should easily overcome Scipio, finding him alone, unless he were aided. This remove of Cæsar's camp, did much encourage Pompey's army and his captains, who would needs in any case have followed after him, as though he had been overcome, and had fled. But for Pompey himself, he would in no respect hazard battell, which was a matter of so great importance. For finding himself well provided of all things necessary to tarry time, he thought it better to draw this war out in length, by tract of time, the rather to consume this little strength that remained in Cæsar's

army: of the which, the best men were marvellous well trained and good soldiers, and for valiantness, at one day's battell, were incomparable. But on the other side again, to remove here and there so oft, and to fortify their camp where they came, and to besiege any wall, or to keep watch all night in their armour: the most part of them could not do it, by reason of their age, being then unable to away with that pains, so that the weakness of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their hearts. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent disease among them that came by ill meats hunger drave them to eat: yet was not this the worst. For besides, he had no store of money, neither could tell how to come by victuals: so that it seemed in all likelihood, that in very short time he would come to nothing. For these respects, Pompey would in no case fight, and yet had he but Cato only of his mind in that, who stuck in it the rather, because he would avoid shedding of his countrymen's blood. For when Cato had viewed the dead bodies slain in the camp of his enemies, at the last skirmish that was between them, the which were no less than a thousand persons: he covered his face, and went away weeping. All other but he, contrarily fell out with him, and blamed him, because he so long refrained from battell: and some prickt him forward, and called him Agamemnon, and king of kings, saying, that he delayed this war in this sort, because he would not leave his authority to command them all, and that he was glad always to see many captains round about him, which came to his lodging to honour him, and wait upon him. And Favonius also, a harebrained fellow, franticly

Pompey's determination for the war

Pompey's dreams in Pharsalia

counterfeiting the round and plain speech of Cato, made as though he was marvellous angry, and said: Is it not great pity, that we shall not eat this year of Tusculum figs, and all for Pompey's ambitious mind to reign alone? And Afranius, who not long before was but lately come out of Spain, (where, because he had but ill success, he was accused of treason, that for money he had sold his army unto Cæsar:) he went busily asking, why they fought not with that merchant, unto whom they said he had sold the province of Spain? So that Pompey with these kind of speeches, against his will, was driven to follow Cæsar, to fight with him. Then was Cæsar at the first, marvellously perplexed, and troubled by the way: because he found none that would give him any victuals, being despised of every man, for the late loss and overthrow he had received. But after that he had taken the city of Gomphi in Thessaly, he did not only meet with plenty of victuals to relieve his army with: but he strangely also did rid them of their disease. For the soldiers meeting with plenty of wine, drinking hard, and making merry: drave away the infection of the pestilence. For they disposed themselves unto dancing, masking, and playing the Baccherians by the way: insomuch that drinking drunk they overcame their disease, and made their bodies new again. When they both came into the country of Pharsalia, and both camps lay before the other: Pompey returned again to his former determination, and the rather, because he had ill signs and tokens of misfortune in his sleep. For he thought in his sleep that when he entered into the theatre, all the Romans received him with great clapping of hands.

Whereupon, they that were about him grew to such boldness and security, assuring themselves of victory: that Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, in a bravery contended between themselves, for the chief bishoprick which Cæsar had. Furthermore, there were divers that sent unto Rome to hire the nearest houses unto the market-place, as being the fittest places for Prætors, and Consuls: making their account already, that those offices could not scape them, incontinently after the wars. But besides those, the young gentlemen, and Roman knights were marvellous desirous to fight, that were bravely mounted, and armed with glistering gilt armours, their horses fat and very finely kept, and themselves goodly young men, to the number of seven thousand, where the gentlemen of Cæsar's side, were but one thousand only. The number of his footmen also were much after the same reckoning. For he had five-and-forty thousand against two-and-twenty thousand. Wherefore Cæsar called his soldiers together, and told them how Cornificius was at hand, who brought two whole legions, and that he had fifteen ensigns led by Calenus, the which he made to stay about Megara and Athens. Then he asked them if they would tarry for that aid or not, or whether they would rather themselves alone venture battell. The soldiers cried out to him, and prayed him not to defer battell, but rather to devise some fetch to make the enemy fight as soon as he could. Then as he sacrificed unto the gods, for the purifying of his army: the first beast was no sooner sacrificed, but his soothsayer assured him that he should fight within three days. Cæsar asked him again, if he saw in the sacrifices, any

Pompey's army as great again as Cæsar's

Cæsar's army and his order of battell

lucky sign, or token of good luck. The soothsayer answered, For that, thou shalt answer thy self, better than I can do: for the gods do promise us a marvellous great change, and alteration of things that are now, unto another clean contrary. For if thou beest well now, doest thou think to have worse fortune hereafter? and if thou be ill, assure thy self thou shalt have better. The night before the battell, as he went about midnight to visit the watch, men saw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came over Cæsar's camp, and fell down in Pompey's. In the morning also when they relieved the watch, they heard a false alarm in the enemies camp, without any apparent cause: which they commonly call, a sodain fear, that makes men beside themselves. This notwithstanding, Cæsar thought not to fight that day, but was determined to have raised his camp from thence, and to have gone towards the city of Scotusa: and his tents in his camp were already overthrown when his scouts came in with great speed, to bring him news that his enemies were preparing themselves to fight. Then he was very glad, and after he had made his prayers unto the gods to help him that day, he set his men in battell ray, and divided them into three squadrons: giving the middle battell unto Domitius Calvinus, and the left wing unto Antonius, and placed himself in the right wing, choosing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But seeing that against that, his enemies had set all their horsemen: he was half affraid when he saw the great number of them, and so brave besides. Wherefore he closely made six ensigns to come from the rearward of his battel,

whom he had laid as an ambush behind his right wing, having first appointed his soldiers what they should do, when the horsemen of the enemies came to give them charge. On the other side, Pompey placed himself in the right wing of his battell, gave the left wing unto Domitius, and the middle battel unto Scipio his father-in-law. Now all the Roman knights (as we have told you before) were placed in the left wing, of purpose to environ Cæsar's right wing behind, and to give their hottest charge there, where the general of their enemies was: making their account, that there was no squadron of footmen how thick soever they were, that could receive the charge of so great a troop of horsemen, and that at the first onset, they should overthrow them all, and march upon their bellies. When the trumpets on either side did sound the alarm to the battell, Pompey commanded his footmen that they should stand still without stirring, to receive the charge of their enemies, until they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore Cæsar afterwards said, that Pompey had committed a foul fault, not to consider that the charge which is given running with fury, besides that it giveth the more strength also unto their blows, doth set men's hearts also afire: for the common hurling of all the soldiers that run together, is unto them as a box on the ear that sets men afire. Then Cæsar making his battell march forward to give the onset, saw one of his captains (a valiant man, and very skilful in war, in whom he had also great confidence) speaking to his soldiers that he had under his charge, encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloud by his name, and said unto him:

Pompey's army and his order of battell

The battell in the fields of Pharsalia

Well, Caius Crassinius, what hope shall we have to-day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully? Then Crassinius casting up his hand, answered him aloud: This day, O Cæsar, we shall have a noble victory, and I promise thee ere night thou shalt praise me alive or dead. When he had told him so, he was himself the foremost man that gave charge upon his enemies, with his band following of him, being about six-score men, and making a lane through the foremost ranks, with great slaughter he entered far into the battell of his enemies: until that valiantly fighting in this sort, he was thrust in at length in the mouth with a sword, that the point of it came out again at his neck. Now the footmen of both battels being come to the sword, the horsemen of the left wing of Pompey, did march as fiercely also, spreading out their troops, to compass in the right wing of Cæsar's battell. But before they began to give charge, the six ensigns of footmen which Cæsar had laid in ambush behind him, they began to run full upon them, not throwing away their darts far off as they were wont to do, neither striking their enemies on the thighs nor on the legs, but to seek to hit them full in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as Cæsar had taught them. For he hoped that these lusty young gentlemen that had not been often in the wars, nor were used to see themselves hurt, and the which, being in the prime of their youth and beauty, would be affraid of those hurts, as well for the fear of the present danger to be slain, as also for that their faces should not for ever be deformed. As indeed it came to pass, for they could never abide that they should come so near

their faces, with the points of their darts, but hung down their heads for fear to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backs, covering their face, because they should not be hurt. Then, breaking of themselves, they began at length cowardly to fly, and were occasion also of the loss of all the rest of Pompey's army. For they that had broken them, ran immediately to set upon the squadron of the footmen behind, and slew them. Then Pompey seeing his horsemen from the other wing of his battell, so scattered and dispersed, flying away: forgat that he was any more Pompey the Great which he had been before, but rather was like a man whose wits the gods had taken from him, being affraid and amazed with the slaughter sent from above, and so retired into his tent speaking never a word, and sat there to see the end of this battell. Until at length all his army being overthrown, and put to flight, the enemies came, and got up upon the rampers and defence of his camp, and fought hand to hand with them that stood to defend the same. Then as a man come to himself again, he spake but this only word: What, even into our camp? So in haste, casting off his coat armour and apparel of a general, he shifted him, and put on such, as became his miserable fortune, and so stole out of his camp. Furthermore, what he did after this overthrow, and how he had put himself into the hands of the Egyptians, by whom he was miserably slain: we have set it forth at large in his life. Then Cæsar entering into Pompey's camp, and seeing the bodies laid on the ground that were slain, and others also that were a-killing, said, fetching a great sigh: It

Cæsar overcometh Pompey

Brutus taken prisoner

was their own doing, and against my will. For Caius Cæsar, after he had won so many famous conquests, and overcome so many great battels, had been utterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his army. Asinius Pollio writeth, that he spake these words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greek, and saith furthermore, that the most part of them which were put to the sword in the camp, were slaves and bondsmen, and that there were not slain in all at this battell, above six thousand soldiers. As for them that were taken prisoners, Cæsar did put many of them amongst his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom Brutus was one, that afterwards slew Cæsar himself: and it is reported, that Cæsar was very sorry for him, when he could not immediately be found after the battell, and that he rejoiced again, when he knew he was alive, and that he came to yield himself unto him. Cæsar had many signs and tokens of victory before this battell: but the notablest of all other that happened to him, was in the city of Tralles. For in the temple of victory, within the same city, there was an image of Cæsar, and the earth all about it very hard of it self, and was paved besides with hard stone: and yet some say that there sprang up a palm hard by the base of the same image. In the city of Padua, Caius Cornelius, an excellent soothsayer, (a countryman and friend of Titus Livius the historiographer) was by chance at that time set to behold the flying of birds. He (as Livy reporteth) knew the very time when the battell began, and told them that were present, Even now they give the onset on both sides, and both armies do meet at this instant.

Then sitting down again to consider of the birds, after he had bethought him of the signs: he suddenly rose up on his feet, and cried out as a man possessed with some spirit, Oh, Cæsar, the victory is thine. Every man wondring to see him, he took the crown he had on his head, and made an oath that he would never put it on again, till the event of his prediction had proved his art true. Livy testifieth, that it so came to pass. Cæsar afterwards giving freedom unto the Thessalians, in respect of the victory which he wan in their country, he followed after Pompey. When he came into Asia, he gave freedom also unto the Gnidians for Theopompus' sake, who had gathered the fables together. He did release Asia also, the third part of the tribute which the inhabitants paid unto the Romans. Then he came into Alexandria, after Pompey was slain: and detested Theodotus that presented him Pompey's head, and turned his head aside because he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he took his seal, and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he courteously used all Pompey's friends and familiars, who wandering up and down the country, were taken of the king of Egypt, and wan them all to be at his commandment. Continuing these courtesies, he wrote unto his friends at Rome, that the greatest pleasure he took of his victory, was, that he daily saved the lives of some of his countrymen that bare arms against him. And for the war he made in Alexandria, some say, he needed not have done it, but that he willingly did it for the love of Cleopatra: wherein he wan little honour, and besides did put his person in great danger. Others

Cæsar's clemency in victories

Cleopatra trussed up in a mattress

do lay the fault upon the king of Egypt's ministers, but specially on Pothinus the eunuch, who bearing the greatest sway of all the king's servants, after he had caused Pompey to be slain, and driven Cleopatra from the court, secretly laid wait all the ways he could, how he might likewise kill Cæsar. Wherefore Cæsar hearing an inkling of it, began thenceforth to spend all the night long in feasting and banqueting that his person might be in the better safety. But besides all this, Pothinus the eunuch spake many things openly not to be borne, only to shame Cæsar, and to stir up the people to envy him. For he made his soldiers have the worst and oldest wheat that could be gotten: then if they did complain of it, he told them, they must be contented, seeing they eat at another man's cost. And he would serve them also at the table in treen and earthen dishes, saying, that Cæsar had away all their gold and silver, for a debt that the king's father (that then reigned) did owe unto him: which was, a thousand seven hundred and fifty myriads, whereof Cæsar had before forgiven seven hundred and fifty thousand unto his children. Howbeit then he asked a million to pay his soldiers withal. Thereto Pothinus answered him, That at that time he should do better to follow his other causes of greater importance, and afterwards that he should at more leisure recover his debt, with the king's good-will and favour. Cæsar replied unto him, and said, That he would not ask counsel of the Egyptians for his affairs, but would be paid: and thereupon secretly sent for Cleopatra which was in the country to come unto him. She only taking Apollodorus Sicilian of all her friends,

took a little boat, and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foot of the castle. Then having no other mean to come into the court without being known, she laid herself down upon a mattress or flock-bed, which Apollodorus her friend tied and bound up together like a bundle with a great leather thong, and so took her up on his back, and brought her thus hampered in this fardel unto Cæsar, in at the castle gate. This was the first occasion (as it is reported) that made Cæsar to love her: but afterwards, when he saw her sweet conversation and pleasant entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, and did reconcile her again unto her brother the king, with condition, that they two jointly should reign together. Upon this new reconciliation, a great feast being prepared, a slave of Cæsar's that was his barber, the fearfulest wretch that lived, still busily prying and listening abroad in every corner, being mistrustful by nature: found that Pothinus and Achillas did lie in wait to kill his maister Cæsar. This being proved unto Cæsar, he did set such sure watch about the hall, where the feast was made, that in fine, he slew the eunuch Pothinus himself. Achillas on the other side, saved himself and fled unto the king's camp, where be raised a marvellous dangerous and difficult war for Cæsar: because he having then but a few men about him as he had, he was to fight against a great and strong city. The first danger he fell into, was for the lack of water he had: for that his enemies had stopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conveyed the water unto the castle. The second danger he had, was, that seeing his enemies

and is brought to Cæsar

The great library of Alexandria burnt

came to take his ships from him, he was driven to repulse that danger with fire, the which burnt the arsenal where the ships lay, and that notable library of Alexandria withal. The third danger was in the battell by sea, that was fought by the tower of Phar: where meaning to help his men that fought by sea, he leapt from the pier into a boat. Then the Egyptians made towards him with their oars, on every side: but he leaping into the sea, with great hazard saved himself by swimming. It is said, that then holding divers books in his hand, he did never let them go, but kept them always upon his head above water, and swam with the other hand, notwithstanding that they shot marvellously at him, and was driven sometime to duck into the water: howbeit the boat was drowned presently. In fine, the king coming to his men that made war with Cæsar, he went against him, and gave him battell, and wan it with great slaughter, and effusion of blood. But for the king, no man could ever tell what became of him after. Thereupon Cæsar made Cleopatra his sister, queen of Egypt, who being great with child by him, was shortly brought to bed of a son, whom the Alexandrians named Cæsarion. From thence he went into Syria, and so going into Asia, there it was told him that Domitius was overthrown in battell, by Pharnaces the son of King Mithridates, and was fled out of the realm of Pont, with a few men with him: and that this King Pharnaces greedily following his victory, was not contented with the winning of Bithynia, and Cappadocia, but further would needs attempt to win Armenia the less, procuring all those kings, princes, and governors of the provinces

thereabouts to rebel against the Romans. Thereupon Cæsar went thither straight with three legions, and fought a great battell with King Pharnaces by the city of Zela, where he slew his army, and drave him out of all the realm of Pont. And because he would advertise one of his friends of the suddenness of this victory, he only wrote three words unto Anicius at Rome: *Veni, Vidi, Vici:* to wit, I came, I saw, I overcame. These three words ending all with like sound and letters in the Latin, have a certain short grace, more pleasant to the ear, than can be well expressed in any other tongue. After this, he returned again into Italy, and came to Rome, ending his year for the which he was made Dictator the second time, which office before was never granted for one whole year, but unto him. Then he was chosen Consul for the year following. Afterwards he was very ill spoken of, for that his soldiers in a mutiny having slain two Prætors, Cosconius and Galba, he gave them no other punishment for it, but instead of calling them soldiers, he named them citizens, and gave unto every one of them a thousand drachmas a man, and great possessions in Italy. He was much misliked also for the desperate parts and madness of Dolabella, for the covetousness of Anicius, for the drunkenness of Antonius and Cornificius, which made Pompey's house be pulled down and builded up again, as a thing not big enough for him, wherewith the Romans were marvellously offended. Cæsar knew all this well enough, and would have been contented to have redressed them: but to bring his matters to pass he pretended, he was driven to serve his turn by

Veni, Vidi, Vici

Cæsar's journey into Africk

such instruments. After the battell of Pharsalia, Cato and Scipio being fled into Africk, King Juba joined with them, and levied a great puissant army. Wherefore Cæsar determined to make war with them, and in the midst of winter, he took his journey into Sicily. There, because he would take all hope from his captains and soldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged upon the very sands by the seaside, and with the next gale of wind that came, he took the sea with three thousand footmen, and a few horsemen. Then having put them a-land, unwares to them, he hoised sail again, to go fetch the rest of his army, being afraid lest they should meet with some danger in passing over, and meeting them midway, he brought them all into his camp. Where, when it was told him that his enemies trusted in an ancient oracle, which said, that it was predestined unto the family of the Scipios to be conquerors in Africk: either of purpose to mock Scipio the general of his enemies, or otherwise in good earnest to take the benefit of this name (given by the oracle) unto himself, in all the skirmishes and battels fought, he gave the charge of his army, unto a man of mean quality and account, called Scipio Sallution, who came of the race of Scipio African, and made him always his general when he fought. For he was eftsoons compelled to weary and harry his enemies: for that neither his men in his camp had corn enough, nor his beasts forage, but the soldiers were driven to take sea-weeds, called *alga*: and (washing away the brackishness thereof with fresh water, putting to it a little herb called dog's-tooth) to cast it so to

their horse to eat. For the Numidians (which are light horsemen, and very ready of service) being a great number together, would be on a sodain in every place, and spread all the fields over thereabout, so that no man durst peep out of the camp to go for forage. And one day as the men of arms were staying to behold an African doing notable things in dancing and playing with the flute: they being set down quietly to take their pleasure of the view thereof, having in the meantime given their slaves their horses to hold, the enemies stealing suddenly upon them, compassed them in round about, and slew a number of them in the field, and chasing the other also that fled, followed them pell-mell into their camp. Furthermore had not Cæsar himself in person, and Asinius Pollio with him gone out of the camp to the rescue, and stayed them that fled: the war that day had been ended. There was also another skirmish where his enemies had the upper hand, in the which it is reported, that Cæsar taking the ensign-bearer by the collar that carried the eagle in his hand, stayed him by force, and turning his face, told him: See, there be thy enemies. These advantages did lift up Scipio's heart aloft, and gave him courage to hazard battell: and leaving Afranius on the one hand of him, and King Juba on the other hand, both their camps lying near to other, he did fortify himself by the city of Thapsus, above the lake, to be a safe refuge for them all in this battell. But whilst he was busy intrenching of himself, Cæsar having marvellous speedily passed through a great country full of wood, by by-paths which men would never have

Cæsar's troubles in Africk

Cæsar's great victory and small loss

mistrusted: he stale upon some behind, and sodainly assailed the other before, so that he overthrew them all, and made them fly. Then following this first good hap he had, he went forthwith to set upon the camp of Afranius, the which he took at the first onset, and the camp of the Numidians also, King Juba being fled. Thus in a little piece of the day only, he took three camps, and slew fifty thousand of his enemies, and lost but fifty of his soldiers. In this sort is set down the effect of this battell by some writers. Yet others do write also, that Cæsar self was not there in person at the execution of this battell. For as he did set his men in battell ray, the falling sickness took him, whereunto he was given, and therefore feeling it coming, before he was overcome withal, he was carried into a castle not far from thence, where the battell was fought, and there took his rest till the extremity of his disease had left him. Now, for the Prætor and Consuls that escaped from this battell, many of them being taken prisoners, did kill themselves, and others also Cæsar did put to death: but he being specially desirous of all men else to have Cato alive in his hands, he went with all possible speed unto the city of Utica, whereof Cato was governor, by means whereof he was not at the battell. Notwithstanding being certified by the way that Cato had slain himself with his own hands, he then made open shew that he was very sorry for it, but why or wherefore, no man could tell. But this is true, that Cæsar said at that present time: O Cato, I envy thy death, because thou didst envy my glory, to save thy self. This notwithstanding, the

book that he wrote afterwards against Cato being dead, did shew no very great affection nor pitiful heart towards him. For how could he have pardoned him, if living he had had him in his hands: that being dead did speak so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would have pardoned him, if he had taken him alive, by the clemency he shewed unto Cicero, Brutus, and divers others that had borne arms against him. Some report, that he wrote that book, not so much for any private malice he had to his death, as for civil ambition, upon this occasion. Cicero had written a book in praise of Cato, which he entitled *Cato*. This book in likelihood was very well liked of, by reason of the eloquence of the orator that made it, and of the excellent subject thereof. Cæsar therewith was marvellously offended, thinking that to praise him, of whose death he was author, was even as much as to accuse himself: and therefore he wrote a letter against him, and heaped up a number of accusations against Cato, and entitled the book *Anticato*. Both these books have favourers unto this day, some defending the one for the love they bear to Cæsar, and others allowing the other for Cato's sake. Cæsar being now returned out of Africk, first of all made an oration to the people, wherein he greatly praised and commended this his last victory, declaring unto them, that he had conquered so many countries unto the empire of Rome, that he could furnish the commonwealth yearly, with two hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and twenty hundred thousand pound weight of oil. Then he made three triumphs, the one for Egypt, the other for the kingdom of

Cicero wrote against Cato being dead

Cæsar's victory

Pont, and the third for Africk: not because he had overcome Scipio there, but King Juba. Whose son being likewise called Juba, being then a young boy, was led captive in the shew of this triumph. But this his imprisonment fell out happily for him: for where he was but a barbarous Numidian, by the study he fell unto when he was prisoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the wisest historiographers of the Grecians. After these three triumphs ended, he very liberally rewarded his soldiers: and to curry favour with the people, he made great feasts and common sports. For he feasted all the Romans at one time, at two-and-twenty thousand tables, and gave them the pleasure to see divers sword-players to fight at the sharp, and battels also by sea, for the remembrance of his daughter Julia, which was dead long before. Then after all these sports, he made the people (as the manner was) to be mustered: and where there were at the last musters before, three hundred and twenty thousand citizens, at this muster only there were but a hundred and fifty thousand. Such misery and destruction had this civil war brought unto the commonwealth of Rome, and had consumed such a number of Romans not speaking at all of the mischiefs and calamities it had brought unto all the rest of Italy, and to the other provinces pertaining to Rome. After all these things were ended, he was chosen Consul the fourth time, and went into Spain to make war with the sons of Pompey: who were yet but very young, but had notwithstanding raised a marvellous great army together, and shewed to have had manhood and courage worthy to command such an army, inso-

much as they put Cæsar himself in great danger of his life. The greatest battell that was fought between them in all this war, was by the city of Munda. For then Cæsar seeing his men sorely distressed, and having their hands full of their enemies: he ran into the press among his men that fought, and cried out unto them: What, are ye not ashamed to be beaten and taken prisoners, yielding yourselves with your own hands to these young boys? And so, with all the force he could make, having with much ado put his enemies to flight: he slew above thirty thousand of them in the field, and lost of his own men a thousand of the best he had. After this battell he went into his tent, and told his friends, That he had often before fought for victory, but this last time now, that he had fought for the safety of his own life. He wan this battell on the very feast day of the Bacchanalians, in the which men say, that Pompey the Great went out of Rome, about four years before, to begin this civil war. For his sons, the younger scaped from the battell: but within few days after, Didius brought the head of the elder. This was the last war that Cæsar made. But the triumph he made into Rome for the same, did as much offend the Romans, and more, than anything that ever he had done before: because he had not overcome captains that were strangers, nor barbarous kings, but had destroyed the sons of the noblest man in Rome, whom fortune had overthrown. And because he had plucked up his race by the roots, men did not think it meet for him to triumph so, for the calamities of his country, rejoicing at a thing for the which he had but

at Munda

Cæsar dictator perpetual

one excuse to allege in his defence, unto the gods and men: that he was compelled to do that he did. And the rather they thought it not meet, because he had never before sent letters nor messengers unto the commonwealth at Rome, for any victory that he had ever won in all the civil wars: but did always for shame refuse the glory of it. This notwithstanding, the Romans inclining to Cæsar's prosperity, and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good mean for them to take breath a little, after so many troubles and miseries as they had abidden in these civil wars: they chose him perpetual Dictator. This was a plain tyranny: for to this absolute power of Dictator, they added this, never to be affraid to be deposed: Cicero propounded before the Senate, that they should give him such honours, as were meet for a man: howbeit others afterwards added to, honours beyond all reason. For, men striving who should most honour him, they made him hateful and troublesome to themselves that most favoured him, by reason of the unmeasurable greatness and honours which they gave him. Thereupon, it is reported, that even they that most hated him, were no less favourers and furtherers of his honours, than they that most flattered him: because they might have greater occasions to rise, and that it might appear they had just cause and colour to attempt that they did against him. And now for himself, after he had ended his civil wars, he did so honourably behave himself, that there was no fault to be found in him: and therefore methinks, amongst other honours they gave him, he rightly

deserved this, that they should build him a temple of clemency, to thank him for his curtesy he had used unto them in his victory. For he pardoned many of them that had borne arms against him, and furthermore, did prefer some of them to honour and office in the commonwealth: as amongst others, Cassius and Brutus, both the which were made Prætors. And where Pompey's images had been thrown down, he caused them to be set up again: whereupon Cicero said then, That Cæsar setting up Pompey's images again he made his own to stand the surer. And when some of his friends did counsel him to have a guard for the safety of his person, and some also did offer themselves to serve him: he would never consent to it, but said, It was better to die once, than always to be affraid of death. But to win himself the love and good-will of the people, as the honourablest guard and best safety he could have: he made common feasts again, and general distributions of corn. Furthermore, to gratify the soldiers also, he replenished many cities again with inhabitants, which before had been destroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repair unto: of the which the noblest and chiefest cities were these two, Carthage and Corinth, and it chanced also, that like as aforetime they had been both taken and destroyed together, even so were they both set afoot again, and replenished with people, at one self time. And as for great personages, he wan them also, promising some of them, to make them Prætors and Consuls in time to come, and unto others, honours and preferments, but to all men generally good hope, seeking all the ways he could to make every man contented with his reign. In-

Cæsar's saying of death

The Canal of Corinth

somuch as one of the Consuls called Maximus, chancing to die a day before his Consulship ended, he declared Caninius Rebilius Consul only for the day that remained. So, divers going to his house (as the manner was) to salute him, and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferment, being newly chosen officer: Cicero pleasantly said, Come, let us make haste, and be gone thither before his Consulship come out. Furthermore, Cæsar being born to attempt all great enterprises, and having an ambitious desire besides to covet great honours: the prosperous good success he had of his former conquests bred no desire in him quietly to enjoy the fruits of his labours, but rather gave him hope of things to come, still kindling more and more in him, thoughts of greater enterprises, and desire of new glory, as if that which he had present, were stale and nothing worth. This humour of his was no other but an emulation with himself as with another man, and a certain contention to overcome the things he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, and made preparation also, to make war with the Persians. Then when he had overcome them, to pass through Hyrcania (compassing in the sea Caspium, and Mount Caucasus) into the realm of Pontus, and so to invade Scythia: and overrunning all the countries, and people adjoining unto high Germany, and Germany it self, at length to return by Gaul into Italy, and so to enlarge the Roman empire round, that it might be every way compassed in with the great sea Oceanus. But whilst he was preparing for this voyage, he attempted to cut the bar of the strait of Peloponnesus, in the place where the city of Corinth standeth.

Then he was minded to bring the rivers of Anien and Tiber, straight from Rome, unto the city of Circeii, with a deep channel and high banks cast up on either side, and so to fall into the sea at Terracina, for the better safety and commodity of the merchants that came to Rome to traffick there. Furthermore, he determined to drain and seaw all the water of the marshes betwixt the cities of Nomentum and Setium, to make it firm land, for the benefit of many thousands of people: and on the sea-coast next unto Rome, to cast great high banks, and to cleanse all the haven about Ostia, of rocks and stones hidden under the water, and to take away all other impediments that made the harbour dangerous for ships, and to make new havens and arsenals meet to harbour such ships, as did continually traffick thither. All these things were purposed to be done, but took no effect. But, the ordinance of the calendar, and reformation of the year, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a great commodity unto all men. For the Romans using then the ancient computation of the year, had not only such uncertainty and alteration of the moneth and times, that the sacrifices and yearly feasts came by little and little to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the revolution of the sun (which is called *Annus Solaris*) no other nation agreed with them in account: and of the Romans themselves, only the priests understood it. And therefore when they listed, they sodainly (no man being able to control them) did thrust in a moneth above their ordinary number, which they

Cæsar reformed the inequality of the year

Why Cæsar was hated

called in old time, Mercedonius. Some say, that Numa Pompilius was the first, that devised this way, to put a moneth between: but it was a weak remedy, and did little help the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the year, to frame them to perfection. But Cæsar committing this matter unto the philosophers, and best expert mathematicians at that time, did set forth an excellent and perfect calendar, more exactly calculated, than any other that was before: the which the Romans do use until this present day, and do nothing err as others, in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding that envied his greatness, did not stick to find fault withal. As Cicero the orator, when one said, To-morrow the star Lyra will rise: Yea, said he, at the commandment of Cæsar, as if men were compelled so to say and think, by Cæsar's edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, was the covetous desire he had to be called king: which first gave the people just cause, and next his secret enemies, honest colour to bear him ill-will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honour and dignity, gave it out among the people, that it was written in the Sybiline prophecies, how the Romans might overcome the Parthians, if they made war with them, and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were unconquerable. And furthermore they were so bold besides, that Cæsar returning to Rome from the city of Alba, when they came to salute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and Cæsar also angry, he said he was not called king, but Cæsar. Then every man keeping silence, he went his way heavy and sorrowful.

When they had decreed divers honours for him in the Senate, the Consuls and Prætors accompanied with the whole assembly of the Senate, went unto him in the market-place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honours they had decreed for him in his absence. But he sitting still in his majesty, disdaining to rise up unto them when they came in, as if they had been private men, answered them: That his honours had more need to be cut off than enlarged. This did not only offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteem of the magistrates of the commonwealth: insomuch as every man that might lawfully go his way, departed thence very sorrowfully. Thereupon also Cæsar rising, departed home to his house, and tearing open his doublet collar, making his neck bare, he cried out aloud to his friends, That his throat was ready to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithstanding, it is reported, that afterwards to excuse this folly, he imputed it to his disease, saying, That their wits are not perfect which have his disease of the falling evil, when standing on their feet they speak to the common people, but are soon troubled with a trembling of their body, and a sodain dimness and giddiness. But that was not true. For he would have risen up to the Senate, but Cornelius Balbus one of his friends (but rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying: What, do you not remember that you are Cæsar, and will you not let them reverence you, and do their duties? Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproach, abusing the Tribunes of the people in this sort. At that time, the feast Luper-

The feast Luper-calia

Antonius presented

calia was celebrated, the which in old time men say was the feast of shepherds or herd men, and is much like unto the feast of the Lycæans in Arcadia. But howsoever it is, that day there are divers noblemen's sons, young men, (and some of them magistrates themselves that govern then) which run naked through the city, striking in sport them they meet in their way, with leather thongs, hair and all on, to make them give place. And many noblewomen and gentlewomen also, go of purpose to stand in their way, and do put forth their hands to be stricken, as scholars hold them out to their schoolmaster, to be stricken with the ferule: persuading themselves that being with child, they shall have good delivery, and also being barren, that it will make them to conceive with child. Cæsar sat to behold that sport upon the pulpit for orations, in a chair of gold, apparelled in triumphing manner. Antonius who was Consul at that time, was one of them that ran this holy course. So when he came into the market-place, the people made a lane for him to run at liberty, and he came to Cæsar, and presented him a diadem wreathed about with laurel. Whereupon there rose a certain cry of rejoicing, not very great, done only by a few, appointed for the purpose. But when Cæsar refused the diadem, then all the people together made an outcry of joy. Then Antonius offering it him again, there was a second shout of joy, but yet of a few. But when Cæsar refused it again the second time, then all the whole people shouted. Cæsar having made this proof, found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his chair, and commanded the crown to be carried unto Jupiter in the Capitol.

After that, there were set up images of Cæsar in the city with diadems upon their heads, like kings. Those, the two Tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went and pulled down: and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted Cæsar as king, they committed them to prison. The people followed them rejoicing at it, and called them Brutes: because of Brutus, who had in old time driven the kings out of Rome, and that brought the kingdom of one person, unto the government of the Senate and people. Cæsar was so offended withal, that he deprived Marullus and Flavius of their Tribuneships, and accusing them, he spake also against the people, and called them Bruti, and Cumani, to wit, beasts, and fools. Hereupon the people went straight unto Marcus Brutus, who from his father came of the first Brutus, and by his mother, of the house of the Servilians, a noble house as any was in Rome, and was also nephew and son-in-law of Marcus Cato. Notwithstanding, the great honours and favour Cæsar shewed unto him, kept him back that of himself alone, he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his kingdom. For Cæsar did not only save his life, after the battell of Pharsalia when Pompey fled, and did at his request also save many more of his friends besides: but furthermore, he put a marvellous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Prætorship for that year, and furthermore was appointed to be Consul, the fourth year after that, having through Cæsar's friendship, obtained it before Cassius, who likewise made suit for the same: and Cæsar also, as it is reported, said in this contention, Indeed Cassius hath alleged best reason, but yet shall he not be

the diadem unto Cæsar

Brutus conspireth against Cæsar

chosen before Brutus. Some one day accusing Brutus while he practised this conspiracy, Cæsar would not hear of it, but clapping his hand on his body, told them, Brutus will look for this skin: meaning thereby, that Brutus for his vertue, deserved to rule after him, but yet, that for ambition's sake, he would not shew himself unthankful or dishonourable. Now they that desired change, and wished Brutus only their prince and governor above all other: they durst not come to him themselves to tell him what they would have him to do, but in the night did cast sundry papers into the Prætor's seat where he gave audience, and the most of them to this effect. Thou sleepest Brutus, and art not Brutus indeed. Cassius finding Brutus' ambition stirred up the more by these seditious bills, did prick him forward, and egg him on the more, for a private quarrel he had conceived against Cæsar: the circumstance whereof, we have set down more at large in Brutus' life. Cæsar also had Cassius in great jealousy, and suspected him much: whereupon he said on a time to his friends, What will Cassius do, think ye? I like not his pale looks. Another time when Cæsar's friends complained unto him of Antonius and Dolabella, that they pretended some mischief towards him: he answered them again, As for those fat men and smooth-combed heads, quoth he, I never reckon of them: but these pale-visaged and carrion lean people, I fear them most, meaning Brutus and Cassius. Certainly, destiny may easier be foreseen, than avoided: considering the strange and wonderful signs that were said to be seen before Cæsar's death. For, touching the fires in the element, and spirits running up and

down in the night, and also the solitary birds to be seen at noondays sitting in the great market-place: are not all these signs perhaps worth the noting, in such a wonderful chance as happened? But Strabo the Philosopher writeth, that divers men were seen going up and down in fire: and furthermore, that there was a slave of the soldiers, that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his hand, insomuch as they that saw it, thought he had been burnt, but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. Cæsar self also doing sacrifice unto the gods, found that one of the beasts which was sacrificed had no heart: and that was a strange thing in nature, how a beast could live without a heart. Furthermore, there was a certain soothsayer that had given Cæsar warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March, (which is the fifteenth of the moneth) for on that day he should be in great danger. That day being come, Cæsar going unto the Senate-house, and speaking merrily unto the soothsayer, told him, The Ides of March be come: So be they, softly answered the soothsayer, but yet are they not past. And the very day before, Cæsar supping with Marcus Lepidus, sealed certain letters as he was wont to do at the board: so talk falling out amongst them, reasoning what death was best: he preventing their opinions, cried out aloud, Death unlooked for. Then going to bed the same night as his manner was, and lying with his wife Calpurnia, all the windows and doors of his chamber flying open, the noise awoke him, and made him afraid when he saw such light: but more, when he heard his wife Calpurnia, being fast asleep, weep and sigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable speeches.

Foreshews of Cæsar's death

The dream of Calpurnia Cæsar's wife

For she dreamed that Cæsar was slain, and that she had him in her arms. Others also do deny that she had any such dream, as amongst other, Titus Livius writeth, that it was in this sort. The Senate having set upon the top of Cæsar's house, for an ornament and setting forth of the same, a certain pinnacle: Calpurnia dreamed that she saw it broken down, and that she thought she lamented and wept for it. Insomuch that Cæsar rising in the morning, she prayed him if it were possible, not to go out of the doors that day, but to adjourn the session of the Senate, until another day. And if that he made no reckoning of her dream, yet that he would search further of the soothsayers by their sacrifices, to know what should happen him that day. Thereby it seemed that Cæsar likewise did fear and suspect somewhat, because his wife Calpurnia until that time, was never given to any fear or superstition: and then, for that he saw her so troubled in mind with this dream she had. But much more afterwards, when the soothsayers having sacrificed many beasts one after another, told him that none did like them: then he determined to send Antonius to adjourn the session of the Senate. But in the meantime came Decius Brutus, surnamed Albinus, in whom Cæsar put such confidence, that in his last will and testament he had appointed him to be his next heir, and yet was of the conspiracy with Cassius and Brutus: he fearing that if Cæsar did adjourn the session that day, the conspiracy would out, laughed the soothsayers to scorn, and reproved Cæsar, saying: That he gave the Senate occasion to mislike with him, and that they might think he mocked them, considering that by his command-

ment they were assembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaim him king of all the provinces of the empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he should wear his diadem in all other places both by sea and land. And furthermore, that if any man should tell them from him, they should depart for that present time, and return again when Calpurnia should have better dreams: what would his enemies and ill-willers say, and how could they like of his friends' words? And who could persuade them otherwise, but that they would think his dominion a slavery unto them, and tyrannical in himself? And yet if it be so, said he, that you utterly mislike of this day, it is better that you go yourself in person, and saluting the Senate, to dismiss them till another time. Therewithal he took Cæsar by the hand, and brought him out of his house. Cæsar was not gone far from his house, but a bondman, a stranger, did what he could to speak with him: and when he saw he was put back by the great press and multitude of people that followed him, he went straight into his house, and put himself into Calpurnia's hands to be kept, till Cæsar came back again, telling her that he had great matters to impart unto him. And one Artemidorus also born in the Isle of Gnidos, a doctor of rhetorick in the Greek tongue, who by means of his profession was very familiar with certain of Brutus' confederates, and therefore knew the most part of all their practices against Cæsar: came and brought him a little bill written with his own hand, of all that he meant to tell him. He marking how Cæsar received all the supplications that were offered him, and that he gave them straight

The tokens of the conspiracy against Cæsar

The place where Cæsar was slain

to his men that were about him, pressed nearer to him, and said: Cæsar, read this memorial to your self, and that quickly, for they be matters of great weight, and touch you nearly. Cæsar took it of him, but could never read it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did salute him: but holding it still in his hand, keeping it to himself, went on withal into the Senate-house. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was some man else that gave him that memorial, and not Artemidorus, who did what he could all the way as he went to give it Cæsar, but he was always repulsed by the people. For these things, they may seem to come by chance: but the place where the murther was prepared, and where the Senate were assembled, and where also there stood up an image of Pompey dedicated by himself amongst other ornaments which he gave unto the theatre: all these were manifest proofs that it was the ordinance of some god, that made this treason to be executed, specially in that very place. It is also reported, that Cassius (though otherwise he did favour the doctrine of Epicurus) beholding the image of Pompey, before they entered into the action of their traitorous enterprise: he did softly call upon it, to aid him. But the instant danger of the present time, taking away his former reason, did suddenly put him into a furious passion, and made him like a man half beside himself. Now Antonius, that was a faithful friend to Cæsar, and a valiant man besides of his hands, him, Decius Brutus Albinus entertained out of the Senate-house, having begun a long tale of set purpose. So Cæsar coming into the

house, all the Senate stood up on their feet to do him honour. Then part of Brutus' company and confederates stood round about Cæsar's chair, and part of them also came towards him, as though they made suit with Metellus Cimber, to call home his brother again from banishment: and thus prosecuting still their suit, they followed Cæsar, till he was set in his chair. Who, denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after another, because the more they were denied, the more they pressed upon him, and were the earnester with him: Metellus at length, taking his gown with both his hands, pulled it over his neck, which was the sign given the confederates to set upon him. Then Casca behind him strake him in the neck with his sword, howbeit the wound was not great nor mortal, because it seemed, the fear of such a divelish attempt did amaze him, and take his strength from him, that he killed him not at the first blow. But Cæsar turning straight unto him, caught hold of his sword, and held it hard: and they both cried out, Cæsar in Latin: O vile traitor Casca, what doest thou? And Casca in Greek to his brother, Brother, help me. At the beginning of this stir, they that were present, not knowing of the conspiracy, were so amazed with the horrible sight they saw: they had no power to fly, neither to help him, not so much, as once to make any outcry. They on the other side that had conspired his death, compassed him in on every side with their swords drawn in their hands, that Cæsar turned him nowhere, but he was striken at by some, and still had naked swords in his face, and was hacked and mangled among them, as a wild beast taken of hunters. For it was agreed

Casca the first that strake at Cæsar

Cæsar slain, and had three-and-twenty wounds upon him

among them, that every man should give him a wound, because all their parts should be in this murder: and then Brutus himself gave him one wound about his privities. Men report also, that Cæsar did still defend himself against the rest, running every way with his body: but when he saw Brutus with his sword drawn in his hand, then he pulled his gown over his head, and made no more resistance, and was driven either casually, or purposely, by the counsel of the conspirators, against the base whereupon Pompey's image stood, which ran all of a gore-blood till he was slain. Thus it seemed, that the image took just revenge of Pompey's enemy, being thrown down on the ground at his feet, and yielding up his ghost there, for the number of wounds he had upon him. For it is reported, that he had three-and-twenty wounds upon his body: and divers of the conspirators did hurt themselves, striking one body with so many blows. When Cæsar was slain, the Senate (though Brutus stood in the middest amongst them, as though he would have said somewhat touching this fact) presently ran out of the house, and flying, filled all the city with marvellous fear and tumult. Insomuch as some did shut-to their doors, others forsook their shops and warehouses, and others ran to the place to see what the matter was: and others also that had seen it, ran home to their houses again. But Antonius and Lepidus, which were two of Cæsar's chiefest friends, secretly conveying themselves away, fled into other men's houses, and forsook their own. Brutus and his confederates on the other side, being yet hot with this murder they had committed,

having their swords drawn in their hands, came all in a troop together out of the Senate, and went into the market-place, not as men that made countenance to fly, but otherwise boldly holding up their heads like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their liberty, and stayed to speak with every great personage whom they met in their way. Of them, some followed this troop, and went amongst them, as if they had been of the conspiracy, and falsely challenged part of the honour with them: amongst them was Caius Octavius, and Lentulus Spinther. But both of them were afterwards put to death, for their vain covetousness of honour, by Antonius, and Octavius Cæsar the younger: and yet had no part of that honour for the which they were put to death, neither did any man believe that they were any of the confederates, or of counsel with them. For they that did put them to death, took revenge rather of the will they had to offend, than of any fact they had committed. The next morning, Brutus and his confederates came into the market-place to speak unto the people, who gave them such audience, that it seemed they neither greatly reproved, nor allowed the fact: for by their great silence they shewed, that they were sorry for Cæsar's death, and also that they did reverence Brutus. Now the Senate granted general pardon for all that was past, and to pacify every man, ordained besides, that Cæsar's funerals should be honoured as a god, and established all things that he had done: and gave certain provinces also, and convenient honours unto Brutus and his confederates, whereby every man thought all things were

The murtherers of Cæsar do go to the Capitol

Cæsar's funerals

brought to good peace and quietness again. But when they had opened Cæsar's testament, and found a liberal legacy of money, bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome, and that they saw his body (which was brought into the market-place) all bemangled with gashes of swords: then there was no order to keep the multitude and common people quiet, but they plucked up forms, tables, and stools, and laid them all about the body, and setting them afire, burnt the corpse. Then when the fire was well kindled, they took the firebrands, and went unto their houses that had slain Cæsar, to set them afire. Other also ran up and down the city to see if they could meet with any of them, to cut them in pieces: howbeit they could meet with never a man of them, because they had locked themselves up safely in their houses. There was one of Cæsar's friends called Cinna, that had a marvellous strange and terrible dream the night before. He dreamed that Cæsar bade him to supper, and that he refused, and would not go: then that Cæsar took him by the hand, and led him against his will. Now Cinna hearing at that time, that they burnt Cæsar's body in the market-place, notwithstanding that he feared his dream, and had an ague on him besides: he went into the market-place to honour his funerals. When he came thither, one of the mean sort asked him what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to another, and that other unto another, so that it ran straight through them all, that he was one of them that murdered Cæsar: (for indeed one of the traitors to Cæsar, was also called Cinna as himself) wherefore

taking him for Cinna the murderer, they fell upon him with such fury, that they presently despatched him in the market-place. This stir and fury made Brutus and Cassius more afraid, than of all that was past, and therefore within few days after, they departed out of Rome: and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamity they suffered till their deaths, we have written it at large, in the life of Brutus. Cæsar died at six-and-fifty years of age: and Pompey also lived not passing four years more than he. So he reaped no other fruit of all his reign and dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life, and pursued with such extreme danger: but a vain name only, and a superficial glory, that procured him the envy and hatred of his country. But his great prosperity and good fortune that favoured him all his lifetime, did continue afterwards in the revenge of his death, pursuing the murderers both by sea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counsellors in the conspiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chances that happen unto men upon the earth, that which came to Cassius above all other, is most to be wondered at. For he being overcome in battel at the journey of Philippi, slew himself with the same sword, with the which he strake Cæsar. Again, of signs in the element, the great comet which seven nights together was seen very bright after Cæsar's death, the eighth night after was never seen more. Also the brightness of the sun was darkened, the which all that year through rose very pale, and shined not out, whereby it gave but small

The revenge of Cæsar's death

A spirit appeared unto Brutus

heat: therefore the air being very cloudy and dark, by the weakness of the heat that could not come forth, did cause the earth to bring forth but raw and unripe fruit, which rotted before it could ripe. But above all, the ghost that appeared unto Brutus shewed plainly, that the gods were offended with the murther of Cæsar. The vision was thus. Brutus being ready to pass over his army from the city of Abydos, to the other coast lying directly against it, slept every night (as his manner was) in his tent, and being yet awake, thinking of his affairs: (for by report he was as careful a captain, and lived with as little sleep, as ever man did) he thought he heard a noise at his tent door, and looking towards the light of the lamp that waxed very dim, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderful greatness, and dreadful look, which at the first made him marvellously afraid. But when he saw that it did him no hurt, but stood by his bedside, and said nothing: at length he asked him what he was. The image answered him: I am thy ill angel, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the city of Philippi. Then Brutus replied again, and said: Well, I shall see thee then. Therewithal, the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time Brutus being in battell near unto the city of Philippi, against Antonius and Octavius Cæsar, at the first battell he wan the victory, and overthrowing all them that withstood him, he drave them into young Cæsar's camp, which he took. The second battell being at hand, this spirit appeared again unto him, but spake never a word. Thereupon Brutus knowing he

should die, did put himself to all hazard in battell, but yet fighting could not be slain. So seeing his men put to flight and overthrown, he ran unto a little rock not far off, and there setting his sword's point to his breast, fell upon it, and slew himself, but yet as it is reported, with the help of his friend that despatched him. His death

THE END OF CÆSAR'S LIFE.

THE COMPARISON OF
ALEXANDER AND CÆSAR

Two marvellous captains

ENTERING into consideration of Alexander and Cæsar, it is an easy matter to speak, and much easier to prove, that they are two of the bravest chieftains of war, that are to be noted in histories: that their vertues out of war are excellent, and have great resemblance together: that both of them were nobly born, learned, eloquent, liberal, moderate, very loving to their friends and servants, and wonderful much made of, and obeyed of captains and soldiers of their armies, and merciful to their enemies: that even from their youth they made good proof of the future greatness of their courages: that their exploits are altogether admirable: that they be two miracles for military discipline, whether a man doth look into the shortness of the time of their wars, and the countries which they have passed through, as it were with the turning of a hand: or that they behold the enemies they have overcome, the towns and provinces they have conquered: their wisdom, valour, and happiness, having never received repulse, but always carrying victory in their hands, and making valour their advantage with an assured good direction. Both of them were in marvellous danger of their persons: the one, in the city of the Mallians: the other in Spain, against the son of Pompeius. Both of them

were by soothsayers expressly told of their death, whom they loved and respected. Both of them in the mean space (as it were blindfold) did throw themselves into danger, from the which men would have withdrawn them. But he that will merely consider the life of either of them, shall find himself in a field, whereof the eye cannot see the end, nor the diverse ways object unto it: but remaineth dazzled, not knowing whither to point it, he seeth so many things at once before him. If he come to prefer the life of one before the other, he entreth into an ocean of discourse, and cannot tell which of the two he should choose, nor to what port to go to discharge himself of this man here, before the other there: yet to encourage somebody to sail in this sea, let us row by the shore: and (to speak plainly without figure) let us see wherein the one doth pass the other, to leave the reader his free judgement of that we will say. At this present I will in few words shew what may be observed most memorable, in the adolescence of the one and of the other, of their exploits of war, of their vices and vertues, of their death, and what followed after. I plead first for Alexander, not mentioning his race, his beauty, nor the sweetness of his body, which they speak of so much: all that being nothing worth in respect of vertue: his continency unto women, and for that he did moderately use the exercises of his body, doth so much the more condemn Cæsar's excess and frailty of his youth, doing and suffering filthy things, not to be ripped up any further. The ambition of Alexander came of a noble mind, as witnesseth that he spake of the running at the games Olympical, his discourse with

Not easy to choose between them

Cæsar's ambition

the ambassadors of Persia, and the complaint he made to his companions, that his father would leave him nothing to conquer. Whereas Cæsar after he had remained some time in Nicomedia and in Greece, he cast himself into the arms of the common people at Rome, being bountiful, and making orations to gain their hearts, suing for petty offices finely to attain to the greater. To conclude, taking a quite contrary course unto Alexander, who traced the great royal road to vertue, to become one day the honour of the world: so had he to his schoolmaister the learnedest man of all men, and shewed himself indeed a most worthy disciple of Aristotle. But Cæsar pricked forward by his natural wit, and tyrannical manners of his time, was possessed (in an unlucky hour for him and his country) with the intolerable vice of self-will and ambition, which was cause of his death. The love that Alexander bare from his infancy, unto learning and learned men, makes him far excel other princes. The honour that he did unto Homer the poet, returned again to himself: how praiseworthy are his courtesies and liberality unto Diogenes, Xenocrates, and others. To the contrary, Cæsar never seemed to care for any man, but for himself: or if he have regarded some, or given gold and silver by handfuls, it was but to gain men, and by degrees to serve his turn, to raise him to that greatness he aimed at, rather than for any other consideration. Now as may be said of the one and the other, he was,

In counsel wise: and valorous in fight.

And to speak truly, it is their true and right title

of honour, and the advantage they have of all those that have gone before them: let us see if we can a little in particular qualify Alexander. Alexander's high emprise

> A sturdy warrior, never fearing harms,
> And dreadful to his enemies in arms:

As saith Æschylus: for what was all his war in Asia after the death of Philippus, but tempests, extreme heats, wonderful deep rivers, marvellous high mountains, monstrous beasts for greatness to behold, wild savage fashions of life, change and alteration of governors upon every occasion, yea treasons and rebellions of some? At the beginning of his voyage, Greece did yet lay their heads together, for remembrance of the wars that Philippus made upon them: the towns gathered together: Macedonia inclined to some change and alteration: divers people far and near lay in wait to see what their neighbours would do: the gold and silver of Persia flowing in the orators' purses, and governors of the people did raise up Peloponnese: Philippus' treasure and coffers were empty, and the debts were great. In despite of all these troubles, and in the middest of his poverty, a young man, but newly come to man's estate, durst in his mind think of the conquest of Asia, yea of the empire of the whole world, with thirty thousand footmen, and five thousand horse, or (as some others think) with five and forty thousand footmen, and five thousand and five hundreth horse, having to entertain this war in ready money, but two and forty thousand crowns, or (as Duris writeth) provision of victuals and money but for thirty days: howbeit he was furnished with magnanimity, with temperance, with wisdom, and valour:

Alexander's great conquests with small means

being more holpen in this martial enterprise, with that he had learned of his tutor Aristotle, than with that which his father Philippus had left him: he was armed with a just quarrel against the Persians, sworn enemies unto Greece, unto whom they had done infinite wrongs and injuries: his magnanimity and valiantness appeared in all his fights, were it in a pitched field, or in assaults, and taking in of towns: never sparing his person, having been grievously wounded in sundry fights: what valour shewed he in the city of the Mallians, he himself alone against so many barbarous people? With what constancy did he encourage his surgeons to pluck out a dart that stuck fast in his breast? Let no man, saith he, be so faint-hearted nor cowardly: no, not if my life were in question, I could not think that a man would believe I feared death, if he had any feeling or fear in my behalf. Now for a man in twelve years' space and less, to have done these things, and to have travelled as a conqueror the most part of the world, is a commendation passing men's understanding. Cæsar on the contrary part, having made his preparations long before, happily found Crassus to pay his debts he owed, to the end to corrupt the city of Rome: and afterwards having practised a dangerous league with Pompeius, he taketh arms and entereth into France, where his subtilties did him as good service as his arms: in the mean space, he had his means, through whose aid, in the end he overthrew the whole state of the commonwealth of Rome. Now Alexander is not so admirable, for that by his prowess he overcame his enemies, as he was by his wonderful wise and vertuous behaviour in the middest of his arms,

where indeed he shewed himself a perfect philosopher: whereof it is good to allege some examples, that shall bring us to the goodly discourse of the vertues of this prince, surpassing Cæsar in that respect. Therefore we may see his prowess accompanied with great justice, a sweet temperance, an excellent bounty, a goodly order and exquisite wisdom: directing all things by good discretion and ripe judgement. In all his doings you shall hardly discern, that is a deed of valour, that of humanity, that of patience: but all his exploits seem to be mingled and compounded of all the vertues together. Yet it is true, that always in every action, there is a vertue eminent above the others: but that pointeth them all to one end. In Alexander's actions they see, that his valiantness is gentle, and his gentleness valiant: his liberality, husbandry, his choler soon down, his loves temperate, his pastimes not idle, and his travels gracious. What is he that hath mingled feasting with wars, and military expeditions with sports? Who hath intermingled in the middest of his besieging of towns: and in the midst of skirmishes and fights, sports, banquets, and wedding songs? Who was ever more enemy to those that did wrong, nor more gracious to the afflicted? Who was ever more cruel to those that fought, or more just unto suppliants? Let us bring forth Porus' witty sayings, who being brought prisoner before Alexander, and by him asked how he would be used: he answered: Like a king. So Alexander following on still, asked him if he would say anything more: No, said he, for all is contained in that word only. And so may they in all Alexander's deeds, to his friends and enemies,

The passing vertues of Alexander

Alexander's aims were nobler

at the beginning and end of his life add to this verse:

Like a wise man.

How lived he? Like a wise man. How carried he himself in all his exploits of war? Like a wise man. How hath he conversed among men openly and privately? Like a wise man. He hath some faults in his behaviour, and we will not forget to speak of them. But as all rules have their exceptions, and yet therefore not to be taken away: and a pimple or wart shall not stain the perfections of the face otherwise very fair. So Alexander's follies and imperfections cannot take away this honour from him, which wise men give him. If we would here help ourselves with examples, we should write that which Plutarch hath so learnedly and briefly gathered out of so many good authors, who took pleasure to do that in the life of Alexander which they judge Xenophon did in Cyrus: to wit, to set before all men the pattern of a prince complete in all vertues. And whereas Cæsar distained his life with a continual violent desire to subdue his country, committing a greater fault in his last wars, and towards the end of his life, than if he had lien with his own mother: as also this damnable illusion did torment him the night before he entred into Italy, to violate the liberty of Rome. Alexander was not pricked forward but by vertue itself, to begin a just war worthy of a great king, not of purpose to set his feet upon the throats of the Greeks, but to bring all the world to a peaceable and happy government. His wars made the Greeks shed no tears. Cæsar filled all his

country with fire and tears. Alexander keeping his soldiers under obedience, suffering none of them that followed him to commit any disorders, he brought the barbarous people through the help of his friends to be civil. Cæsar undid some of his friends, others forsook him, he filled Rome with the insolency of his soldiers, and sowed there the grains of infinite confusions that came out of his blood. But what hath been the continency of Alexander, to whom all things succeeded as he wished? He would not see the ladies that were prisoners, and through his temperance was as much conqueror of their beauties, (notwithstanding, he was in the flower of his age, and of a lusty complexion) as of the prowess of men by his valiantness: yea he made less account of those women they shewed him, than of those he never saw. And where he was gracious to all sorts of people, he shewed himself as untoward to them that were fair. How did he threaten Philoxenus, that would have bought him two boys of a merchant of Tarentum! And if he did love Roxana and Statira, it was because he would lawfully marry them, and for the good of his affairs: and not as Cæsar, that forgat himself too much in those matters. But furthermore, what praise deserveth Alexander, that he will not steal a victory. O how noble is his courage, that would not accept Darius' offers: but would needs have Greece command Asia, as it was requisite! What diligence used he in following of his enemy? and otherwise what compassion took he of the unworthy death of him? how did he punish Bessus? All his former behaviour sheweth that he had a good and true kingly

Alexander's continency more than Cæsar's

This prince had all the vertues

mind in him: that he loved not traitors, nor treason, and would not overcome but with honour. Cæsar indeed did pursue Pompeius, but he did not punish the murderers, till that he had discovered they conspired against him. Now to make an end of that we have to say for Alexander: we may gather out of the discourse of his life, that the divine providence made a present unto this prince of the vertues most apparent in all the other noble Greeks and Romans: who besides his piety, justice, and equity, in his adversity he strengthened himself with hope: in prosperity, environed with flatterers, he was not drunk with his greatness, he did acknowledge he was mortal, and humbled himself many ways: he is wonderful patient, beareth the hard words of his familiars: he neither taketh pen nor sword in hand to be revenged of those that offended him, thinking it a worthy thing in a king to suffer himself to be blamed, and to hear ill to do good: shewing a hearty affection and great honour to his friends, even for their sakes to forbear his own necessary commodities, to write unto them familiarly, and to have a special care of their persons and of their affairs. He provided his servants' pay of creditors six millions of gold due for his soldiers. He sent out of Asia into Greece the like sum to build up temples again to their gods, in place of those which the Persians had overthrown. To conclude, in the middest of his affairs he shewed an aspiring and invincible valour: not being faint-hearted for any danger whatsoever. It is true that Cæsar in this case had many things common with him, as we will tell you hereafter. This notwithstanding Alexander always kept himself constant, and after

such a manner, that he followed not vice, nor did not seem so much to blemish his goodly vertues as the other. Among other vices, they blame Alexander for drunkenness and choler. I will neither excuse the one nor the other in him: but as for this last, as there was never prince that would sooner confess his faults after he had done them, through this vehemency of his, whereunto he was somewhat given by nature: it may be said also that Clitus, Callisthenes, and some others that felt the force of his anger, were the chief cause and motive of it, and had brought the mischief upon themselves. And to speak the troth, there is no reason that a servant much made of by his master, should stand so highly upon himself, that he will bear nothing, but wilfully run his head against a stone which he might easily have avoided, if he could but have kept his tongue, and given place to his fury that could presently undo him. Every man will condemn Alexander for his ill-usage of the Indian soldiers, coming out of a town upon his word given them. And as for the philosophers, it is a thing done whereof somewhat may be said, wherein they should have been spare in their practices to have done longer service to their country, and not to have provoked so much a puissant and victorious enemy. And as for the nation of the Cosseians, that he did utterly destroy them for sacrifice of the funerals of Hephœstion: it is a great and unexcusable fault, what excuse soever may be made for it. But the gracious entertainments he gave Taxiles, and Porus, to so many nations subdued, to so many towns taken: the divers and great honours he gave unto

His vices, choler and drunkenness

Cæsar's cruelty

the captains of his army, and the ordinary course of his life wonderful merciful, do somewhat salve the wounds of his choler not premeditated, and of his exceeding grief and sorrow for his favourites and familiars. The which we must distinguish from the strange hatred that Cæsar hid in his heart, against all those that hindered his doings, without regard of any man. And where he pardoned some before and after victory, it was but for his advancement, not for any good-will he bare them: for in Africa he put a great number of them to death whom he suspected, nay he spared not Cato himself after his death. As for the tears he shed taking Pompeius' seal, refusing to see the head of him, nor Theodotus that brought it him: and contrariwise, favouring the servants and friends of the dead, and writing goodly letters to Rome, which they call, Kissing of his dead enemy: his acts that went before, and followed after, may plainly shew, that all that was but a tragi-comedy ceremonially ended, although otherwise they had had so many matters to deal in together: that it was not possible but that some remainder of the ancient knowledge meeting then in the heart should stir up some inward contrariety within: as also it hapneth to men of great courage, that contrary passions do meet together, and do shew more without than remaineth within. The wicked Theodotus deserved no less than Bessus: but Cæsar was not Alexander, neither went he into Egypt but for the advancement of his affairs, which could not well be compassed but by the destruction of Pompeius: the which when he had obtained, made him forget his duty openly. For Alexander's drunkenness, some

desirous to excuse it, allege that he drank not much, but was long at the table, and spent the time talking with his friends. As they tell of Cato Utican, that he sat at the table with his friends all night long until the morning: whereof some said that his business in the commonwealth was cause, which he followed all the day. This hindering him that he had no leisure to go to his book when night came, he took great delight to confer with learned men at his table. If Alexander after he had travailed about so many affairs of the commonwealth, the which he would never leave undone to follow his own pleasures, drank somewhat liberally among his captains, yea suppose that he exceeded measure more than once: yet will I not conclude that he made use of it, and that he deserved the name of a drunkard. I will not excuse the fault he committed at the instance of Lais the courtesan, nor the promise that he made of a prize of six hundred crowns to his captains, unto him that could drink most: for it is not in glasses and gobbets that men should shew their strength. But there died at this quaffing and carousing, one and forty of his captains. And as for himself, truly he was too lightly led by Medius, to go drink with him all night, and the next morning: whereupon he fell sick, and would not forbear to drink wine for all that, which cast him into a fever that left him not. For where they say he was poisoned, it hath no likelihood of reason in it. Be that this prince did exceed in drinking, yet that notwithstanding, wine must not drown nor bury so many excellent vertues that do shine in him in time of peace and war. Cæsar's intemperancy in his plea-

His hard drinking excused

Alexander's death and successors

sures, and his unsatiable ambition, is an extremity without all comparison more vehement and dangerous, than Alexander's choler or cup. And as for his death, as the countenance and greatness of his glory was pure and unspotted, free from envy, during the strength of his age whilst he lived in this world: so after his death this glory held out still in the wonted manner, he being lamented of all his army, of all Greece and Europe. Many royal branches, having sprong from his soldiers, leaving the world in division to four simple captains, whose issue after them have continued many years in possession of their parts. Whereas Cæsar to the contrary, having with so great labour and travail by many obscure and oblique ways, attained to the height of a shameful glory, and which wan him the hatred of the chiefest members of the commonwealth: was immediately cast down, little lamented of those that loved good laws and the good of the estate, the which he left turmoiled with civil wars, and which began to make some shew again under his nephew, whom the divine providence (having regard to things much more excellent than either heaven or earth) had in his counsel determined to make him monarch of the world. As to the contrary, Alexander was happily stayed in Babylon, where he was told by the divines, the wicked spirit having (according to the knowledge it pleased the just judge to give him) conjectured and foretold something of that, which God had long time before revealed unto him by his faithful prophet. But yet after Augustus, the empire of Rome fell again into new misfortunes, and was never but inconstant from that time forward, till in the end it

sunk under her own weight. The like chanced to Alexander's successors, but not through his fault: and that makes the memory of him the more famous. Thus have you all I can say for him. Let us speak something of Julius Cæsar also, not that I pretend to attain to that which may be said of him: for it would require a more sufficient man than myself to perform that. But to make some comparison with Alexander, whose deeds he chancing one day to read of in a book, he fell a-weeping, envying the brave exploits of the other. Let us therefore consider if he have done things that came near, or did excel the other. First of all, unto all the noble acts that may be written of Alexander in his youth, I do object the worthy act of Cæsar against the pirates, which were more his prisoners than he theirs: unto whom he paid ransom in such sort, that he made them repent their folly that they ever meddled with him. So that upon land they found he was very round with them, as also their judge at sea, though he were but a young man in their hands. That is but an example of the rest of his life, who could abide no companion, and much less a master, as being born to all great things, and delighting in nothing, but to be excellent in all the rarest and highest things of the world: as his deeds did witness, after he came to bear office in the commonwealth, even to the end of his days. Now albeit, his eloquence is no small thing to be spoken of, which did him notable service in many troublesome encounters: though it is a wonder to see the excellence of his style, and grace, lively to express all things in so fine and goodly terms, that the smoothest muses neither would, nor

Wherein Cæsar seemed to excel Alexander

Cæsar's great skill in arms

could speak more sweetly than he: yet since we had rather stand upon good deeds than fair words: let us pass over this matter so much to support Alexander: and let us see whether it may be received for truth of all men of understanding: that Cæsar is the most excellent captain that ever was in the world. Albeit that Alexander had but small means, yet he was lord of a great kingdom: he had men and credit. But Cæsar without patrimony of much worth, without money, and with few men, performed the greatest things that may be thought of. Alexander had to do with women and children, if one compare the people he fought with, with those whom Cæsar overthrew: not in five or six battles, but in more than fifty, very well ordered, where he was ever the weaker in number of men, but the greater in valour: never vanquished, but ever victor: and was never hurt that I can tell of, though he would venture even to his last, and let his flesh go as freely as the meanest soldier of his legions. And yet in the mean time they shall find he was better stayed in his enterprises than Alexander, that like a swift-running stream, would run into any danger, which indifferently joineth with all that cometh against it. So he was in the heat of his age, and Cæsar entred into doings being a man of ripe judgement, and well onwards in years. To say it is a great commendation for a general in the field, headlong to put himself into all dangers, making no difference betwixt himself and a common soldier, that is somewhat too forward: and therefore therein I find Cæsar to be preferred before Alexander, only for that he was not so forward without great necessity. So that his happiness

defended him in all parts, as also for that Alexander seemed to have sought to be beaten. Shall I tell you that Cæsar killed a million of enemies, hath triumphed for a million of others, and hath made an innumerable number to fly? That in less than ten years that the war in Gaul endured, he wan eight hundred towns, and subdued three hundred nations? If I should mention the wars he made in fifteen years' space, it would ask a whole book to speak only but of the praises he deserved. The Swizzers, Germans, Gauls, Romans, Egyptians, Africans, the Asians, and his five triumphs of so many enemies, so mighty, and in shew so invincible, do approve his valour and sufficiency in all the parts requisite in a chieftain of war. His vertues and happiness being his tutors, he got about him a world of good-wills of certain valiant captains and soldiers together, whom he ordered so well, that he made them ready to perform what he commanded, and having such an unmatchable carriage towards them, he made them invincible with him: and in the middest of his continual troubles, he did read, meditate, spake, wrote, and left behind him the goodliest book that a martial man, and one that entertaineth the muses, can devise to take in his hands. His orations were a long time held in great reputation among the Romans. And for his respect unto men learned, valiant, and vertuous: Cæsar had renounced himself, if he had shut his gate against such men. The dangers Alexander passed through were great, but what were they in respect of Cæsar's dangers, environed with so brave enemies, and in so great a number, as were the Gauls, and Pompey's followers? What foul parts have been played him by some of

His discipline of wars

The vertues and perfections of Cæsar

his own people, and yet he weighed them not? But to the contrary, he suffered some of them to run what course they liked best: he sent the carriage and goods to others: he always respected and honoured his enemies, when they made no head against him. And by his friends he sent reasonable conditions unto Pompey, before he would fight with him. Furthermore, when he entred into wars, being greatly in debt, and raised up with hope having the chiefest in Rome his adversaries: he took upon him to fight with all the enemies abroad, and to make his way in despite of the world to the sovereignty of Rome, the which he saw had need of a good maister, not of so many petty lords. His wonderful foresight served him altogether in all occurrences, being never prevented in any thing he went about, but always obtained more than he desired. His magnanimity weighed more, than any other vertue they could note in him: which is as much as if one would say, that Cæsar outweighed all the other captains of the Greeks and Romans: he was almost at all the battles in the wars where he commanded, he was never beaten but in his lieutenants. For the skirmish in the which Pompey on a time had the better, it is not worth the speaking of it: because he could not tell how to follow his victory. And it is a singular direction, favoured with a most rare happiness: that amongst so many blows given, Cæsar never had one given him. If he found favour of Crassus before he went to the wars, that cannot be imputed any blame to him: since he always paid his friends well, and brought his enemies to reason, though they set against him. If justice accompanieth the prowess of Alexander,

if he have used moderation, gentleness, and humility in his victories, if he shew himself wise and circumspect in his purposes: what shall be said of Cæsar then? whose gentleness is so much spoken of, that men judge that that was one of the occasions of his death. His pastimes were very serious: and after he began to deal in affairs, he never played but in good earnest, and yet would he never lose his times of recreation, and his pleasant talk and communication with his friends and familiars. But in the middest of his victories, how did he use his enemies, and those that set themselves against him? He was a lightening of war, that overthrew all that durst withstand him: and he never meddled with any that yielded without resistance. He is faithful, wise, valiant, and courageous, and did not allow all kind of means to obtain victory: although more than once he might have sewed (as they say) the case of the fox, with the skin of the lion. But yet he followed in good time his predecessors, although he did finely assault the most part of his enemies, and destroyed the one by the other. Cæsar's ambition was very extreme, but he covered it in another manner of sort than Alexander did: who passing over a river let fall certain words, plain enough, that he sought the praise of the Athenians. And the false inventions to make the glory of his name to continue for ever amongst the Indians, do not they discover a most gross vanity, which did but labour after that which it could not attain? But Cæsar desired earnestly, and touched the end of his intentions. His prowess is wonderful gracious, and his gentleness grave and valiant: his liberality so great, that to think what he should

both in war and peace

Cæsar endured greater hardships

give was more, than the gift itself how great soever. Also he gathered no riches together in the wars, to live afterwards in deliciousness at his pleasure: it was a reward of vertue that he locked up, to recompense men of valure, and to leave good soldiers a mean to live by honestly at home, when age and their wounds did constrain them to leave wars. He was never weary of any travail more than Alexander: and gave not himself to so much ease, though he was elder, slenderer, and thinner of body, and subject to the falling sickness: but he hardened himself against it by continual exercise of his body and mind, accompanied with an incredible quickness and diligence. He having left France, and running after Pompeius to Brundusium: he subdued all Italy in less than three weeks, returned again from Brundusium to Rome, from whence he went to the heart of Spain, where he overcame extreme hardness in the war against Afrianus and Petreius, and at the long siege of Marseilles. From thence he returned into Macedonia, wan the battle of Pharsalia, and followed Pompeius into Egypt, which he subdued also. After that he came into Syria, and into the kingdom of Pont, where he fought with Pharnaces: from thence into Africa, where he overcame Scipio and Juba. Afterwards he returned again through Italy and Spain, and there overcame the son of Pompeius. Now weigh therewithal the travels, fights, conquests and expeditions of Alexander: then say plainly, what you think of it: Cæsar carried it by much. The only wars of the Gauls have been more sharp and dangerous, than all the conquests of Asia and the Indians. For it is not

in passing over mountains and rivers ill guarded, that shews the deeds of men: it is to overcome a subtle and puissant enemy. But I pray you, these words of Cæsar to the master of the brigantine (who unless they had known him, would have passed him from Apollonia to Brundusium) were they not more swelling than the sea itself? Courage my friend, said he, sail hardily: for thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune. And that which he said passing over the river of Rubicon, to enter into Italy: A man can be but once undone: what a courage did he shew in that? Truly a mind, that from thence did behold death, and cared for no more, but for the execution of his counsels. If a man observe the directions of Alexander in his exploits: what is that in respect of the wisdom of Cæsar? being wont to say, he loved victory gotten by counsel more than by force. I know that Alexander was adorned with most excellent vertues, and hurt with very few known vices. For therein it seemeth he hath latticed up Cæsar, and many others of the chiefest in the Greek and Roman history: although I cannot dissemble also, that he was led by flatterers and women too: witness that which he did at the instigation of Lais and of his minions. Also that his deeds were but wind: dangerous vices in all men, but especially in princes: from which Cæsar kept himself with better understanding. But if we bring in show the good understanding, the spirit, the judgement, the conduct, the profound knowledge, the eloquence, the hardiness, the greatness of courage, the more than human boldness in the midst of the greatest dangers, the travels, the pains, the bounty, the gentleness,

and did greater deeds

Cæsar's magnanimity

the courtesy, the liberality, and the good fortune of Cæsar: we shall have enough to speak of. They object this against him: that among the Senators and others which took Pompieus' part, he spared them that could not much hurt him: and others whom he thought he could not gain, he overcame them in Africa. But Brutus, Cassius, and his adherents shew, that Cæsar sought nothing else but to carry himself graciously, if his ill-willers would have let him alone. And sure it is very likely, that if they had borne with him but a little longer, matters had not gone on with such a violent course as they did after his death: but the estate of Rome had been governed with better policy, and the ambition of this great person having attained his desire, had been satisfied, and would have fallen of himself. For whereas he did lean to the flatteries of Balbus and Antonius, to disdain the Senate, and to covet the marks and signs of royal dignity: these were but the blasts of this wicked wind, which such dangerous bellows entertained and kept in his heart. Now in this he cannot be excused. On the contrary side, they cannot too much condemn this passion of his, which sufficiently appeared in the first voyage he made into Spain: when passing by a pelting village, he preferred the first place in that to the second in Rome. This passion increased in him ever after, so mightily overruling all the rest, and so absolutely possessing his mind, that it carried him whither it would, and made him that without respect of his country or of himself he never left running, until this fierce horse cast him on the ground and brake his neck. Yea so many victories and triumphs drew him not for all that to seek rest:

but (as Alexander sailed up and down the ocean, during his last sickness, and some hours before his death) he embraced greater wars and conquests than before. For that he did in reforming the calendar, and the enterprise in so many buildings and works for the commonwealth, sheweth that that mind was a bow ever bent. For his voluptuousness, peradventure it will not become us to speak of them, and we were better with silence and shame lament man's imperfection, than in descrying of noble persons, content those that are never merry, but when one feedeth their malice. The ambition wherewith he was infinitely wounded, coming to fight with this wickedness after women, made him quickly leave the haunt utterly to subdue it afterwards: to the end that his pleasures should never make him steal a minute of an hour, nor to remove one foot from the occasions offered him to raise him to greatness. As for his death, it was violent indeed, but practised by the most part of them to whom he had given life, and who continued not long after him. It is true, his high carriage of himself was cause of his death: for nothing wanted to his happiness, but to love his city, and to continue to be more careful than he was to please the Senate and people, as he had begun after his five triumphs, pardoning all, raising one and other to offices in the commonwealth, and setting up again the statues of Pompey. Now being fallen again into this desperate desire to be yet greater, he made so many offended with him, that divers put that in execution, which one man alone could not easily have brought to pass. But yet he hath that more than Alexander, that his death was revenged. To

Cæsar's death

The judgement of precedency left to the reader

the contrary, Alexander's mother, wives, and children made a poor end: his army remained as a body without a head, and he had a good grace that compared it to Cyclope Polypheme, when Ulysses had put out his eye. His captains and successors devoured one another by long wars. As for Cæsar, he lived still in the person of his successor Augustus, who having overcome a world of hard adventures, established a monarchy: the which in despite of a million of tempests, hath continued many hundreds of years. And specially the name of Cæsar, by excellent privilege has remained unto those that after him reigned in the empire of Rome: and his valiantness was, and is to this day desired of all men, that by valorous exploits seek to win to their name immortal praise and glory. You look here, reader, to see to which of the two I should give the precedency: but since the world hath been too little for the one and the other, I should go too far if I plainly spake what I thought. Now that I have spoken for the other, I cease and leave you to your judgement.

THE LIFE OF PHOCION

Demades' arrogant saying

The orator Demades on a time flourished in Athens, because in all his doings and sayings in the administration and government of the commonwealth, he always favoured the Macedonians and Antipater: in respect whereof he was eftsoons compelled, both in his counsel and laws, to prefer many things to the dishonour of his city, saying, that they must pardon him, because he governed the shipwracks of his country. This was an arrogant speech: but yet referring it to the government of Phocion he said truly. For indeed Demades self was the shipwreck of the common weal, because he lived so insolently, and governed so lewdly. Insomuch as Antipater said of him, after he was very old: that there was nothing left of him, no more than of a beast sacrificed, but the tongue and belly. But the vertues of Phocion, which had to fight against the cruel and bitter enemy of the time, were so obscured by the calamities of Greece: that his fame was nothing so great as he deserved. For we must not credit Sophocles' words, making vertue of it self but weak, in these verses:

> When storms of sore adversities (oh king) do men assail,
> It daunts their courage, cuts their combs, and makes their hearts to quail.

The power of vertue and fortune

But we must only give place to Fortune, who when she frowneth upon any good and vertuous men, her force is so great, that where they deserve honour and favour, she violently heapeth false and malicious accusations against them, which maketh their vertue lame, and not of that credit which indeed it deserveth. And yet it seemeth to many, that free cities are most cruel unto their good citizens in time of prosperity: because they flow in wealth and live at ease, which maketh them of haughty minds. But it is clean contrary. For adversity commonly maketh men's manners sour, cholerick, and very hasty: besides, slow to hear, churlish, and offended with every little sharp word. For he that correcteth them that offend, seemeth to cast their adversity in their teeth: and he that telleth them plainly of their faults, seemeth also to despise them. For like as honey sweet by nature, applied unto wounds, doth bring both smart and pain: even so, sharp words, though profitable, do bite the unfortunate man, if they be not tempered with discretion and curtesy. And therefore Homer the poet calleth sweet and pleasant things *μενοεικῆ*, as yielding and not striving with contrariety, against that part of the mind, whereby we be angry and froward. For even as sore eyes do like to look on black and dark colours, and cannot abide the bright and glaring: so in a city, where for want of foresight and government, things go not well, men be so diverse and unwilling to hear of their own fault and state, that they had rather continue in their folly and danger, then by sharpness of words to be rebuked and restored. So that it being impossible to amend one fault with a

greater, that commonwealth must be in great danger, that when it hath most need of help, is lothest to receive any: and he also hazardeth himself, that plainly telleth them their faults. Like as therefore the mathematician sayeth, that the sun doth not altogether follow the motion of the highest heaven, nor yet is moved directly contrary, but fetching a compass a little overthwart, maketh an oblique circle, and by variety of approaching and departing preserveth all things, and keepeth the world in good temperature. Even so, too severe government, contrarying the people's minds in all things, is not good: as also it is marvellous dangerous, not to correct offenders when they offend, for fear of the people's displeasure. But the mean, sometime to yield unto the people to make them the more willing to obey, and to grant them things of pleasure, to demand of them again things profitable: that is a good way to govern men the better by. For, by gentle means they are brought to do many profitable things, when they seek it not of them, by rigour and authority. Indeed this mean is very hard to be observed, because authority is hardly tempered with lenity. But when they meet together, there is no harmony more musical, nor concordance more perfect than that: and therefore it is said, that thereby God doth govern the world, working rather a voluntary, than a forced obedience in men. But this fault of severeness was in Cato the younger, for he could not fashion himself to the people's manners, neither did they like his: neither did he win his estimation in the commonwealth by flattering of them. And therefore Cicero said, that he was put by the Consul-

Cicero's saying of Cato

Cato's plain manner becomes not the corrupt and subtile time

ship, for that he behaved himself as though he lived in the commonwealth devised by Plato, and not amongst the disordered and corrupt posterity of Romulus. Methinketh I can liken him properly unto untimely fruit: the which though men do take pleasure to see and wonder at, yet they eat them not. Even so, the ancient simplicity of Cato's manner (having so long time been out of use, and coming then to shew it self in that corrupt time and ill manners of the city) was indeed much praiseworthy: but yet not the convenientest, nor the fittest for him, because it answered nor respected not the use and manners of his time. For he found not his country (as Phocion did) utterly destroyed, but tossed in a dangerous tempest: and being not of authority like the pilot to take the stern in hand, and govern the ship: he took himself to tricking the sails, and preparing the tackle, so to assist men of greater power. And yet being in no greater place, he so thwarted fortune (which seemed to have sworn the overthrow of the state of Rome) that with much ado, with great difficulty, and a long time after, she executed her malice. And yet the commonwealth had almost gotten the victory of her, by means of Cato and his vertue: with whom I do compare the vertue of Phocion, who yet in my opinion were not in all things alike, neither in their honesty, nor policy of government. For there is difference betwixt manhood and manhood, as there was betwixt that of Alcibiades, and that of Epaminondas: betwixt wisdom and wisdom, as betwixt that of Aristides, and that of Themistocles: and betwixt justice and justice, as betwixt that of

Numa, and that of Agesilaus. But the vertues of these men (to him that shall superficially regard, and lightly consider them) seem all one in quality, in manner, and use, both alike in temperance of curtesy with severity, and manhood with wisdom: a vigilant care for others, with presence of courage and security of mind for themselves, abhorring all filthiness and corruption, and embracing constancy and love of justice: that for any man to discern the difference between them, it requireth an excellent good wit and judgement. Now touching Cato, every man knoweth that he was of a noble house, as we will shew you hereafter in his life: but for Phocion, I guess he came of no base parentage. For if he had been the son of a spoonmaker, as Idomeneus testifieth: Glaucippus the son of Hyperides, having in an invective he wrote against him, rehearsed all the mischiefs he could of him, he would not have forgotten to have upbraided him with his base parentage, neither he himself also (if that had been true) had been so well brought up as he was. For when he was but a young man, he was Plato's scholar, and afterwards Xenocrates' scholar, in the school of Academia: and so, even from his first beginning, he gave himself to follow them that were learned. For as Duris writeth, never Athenians saw him weep nor laugh, nor wash himself in any common bath, nor his hands out of his sleeves when he wore a long gown. For when he went to the wars, he would always go on foot, and never wore gown, unless it were extreme cold: and then the soldiers to mock him withal, would say it was a sign of a sharp winter, when they saw Phocion in his gown. Now, though indeed he was very cour-

The parentage of Phocion

Phocion's manners

teous and gentle of nature, yet he had such a grim look withal, that no man had any desire to talk with him, but such as were of his familiar acquaintance. And therefore when Chares the Orator one day mocked him for the bending of his brows, and that the Athenians fell in a laughter withal: My maisters, quoth Phocion, the bending of my brows hath done you no hurt, but the foolery and laughing of these flatterers, have made ye oftentimes to weep. Furthermore, his manner of speech was very profitable, for the good sentences and counsels he uttered: but it was mixed with an imperious, austere, and bitter shortness. For as Zeno the Philosopher saith, That the wise man should temper his words with wit and reason, before he utter them: even so was Phocion's speech, the which in few words comprehended much matter. And thereupon it seemeth that Polyeuctus Sphettian said, That Demosthenes was an excellent orator, but in speech, Phocion was very witty. For like as coins of gold or silver, the lighter they weigh, the finer they be of goodness: even so the excellency of speech consisteth in signifying much by few words. And touching this matter, it is reported that the theatre being full of people, Phocion walked all alone upon the scaffold where the players played, and was in a great muse with himself: whereupon, one of his friends seeing him so in his muses, said unto him, Surely, Phocion, thy mind is occupied about somewhat. Indeed it is so said he: for I am thinking with my self, if I could abridge anything of that I have to say to the people. For Demosthenes self little esteeming all other orators, when Phocion rose up to speak, he would round his friends in the ears, and told

them: See, the cutter of my words riseth. Peradventure he meant it by his manners also: For when a good man speaketh, not a word only, but a wink of an eye, or a nod of his head, doth countervail many artificial words and speeches of rhetoricians. Furthermore, when he was a young man, he went to the wars under Captain Chabrias, and followed him: of whom he learned to be a perfect soldier, and in recompense thereof, he reformed many of his captain's imperfections, and made him wiser than he was. For Chabrias otherwise being very dull and slothful of himself, when he came to fight, he was so hot and courageous, that he would thrust himself into danger, with the desperatest persons: and therefore for his rashness, it afterwards cost him his life, in the city of Chios, where launching out with his galley before the rest, he pressed to land in despite of his enemies. But Phocion being wise to look to himself, and very quick to execute: on the one side quickened Chabrias' slowness, and on the other side also, by wisdom cooled his heat and fury. Chabrias therefore, being a good man and courteous, loved Phocion very well, and did prefer him in matters of service, making him famous amongst the Grecians, and employed him in his hardiest enterprises. For by his means he achieved great fame and honour in a battell by sea, which he wan by the Isle of Naxos, giving him the left wing of his army, on which side the fight was sharpest of all the battell, and there he soonest put the enemies to flight. This battell being the first which the city of Athens wan with their own men only, after it had been taken: gave the people cause to love

Phocion's first soldier-fare

The victory of Chabrias and Phocion in Naxos

Chabrias, and made him also to make account of Phocion, as of a noble soldier, and worthy to have charge. This victory was gotten on the feast day of the great mysteries, in memory whereof Chabrias did yearly on the sixteenth day of the moneth Boedromion (now called August) make all the people of Athens drink. After that time Chabrias sending Phocion to receive the tribute of the islanders, their confederates, and the ships which they should send him: he gave him twenty galleys to bring him thither. But Phocion then (as it is reported) said unto him: If he sent him to fight with his enemies, he had need to have more ships: but if he sent him as an ambassador unto his friends, then that one ship would serve his turn. So he went with one galley only: and after he had spoken with the cities, and courteously dealt with the governors of every one of them, he returned back, furnished of their confederates, with a great fleet of ships and money, to carry unto Athens. So Phocion did not only reverence Chabrias while he lived, but after his death also he took great care of his friends and kinsmen, and sought to make his son Ctesippus, an honest man: whom though he saw very wild and untoward, yet he never left to reform him, and hide his fault. It is said also, that when this young man did trouble him much with vain frivolous questions, serving then under him, he being captain, and taking upon him to give him counsel, to reprove him, and to teach him the duty of a captain: he could not but say, O Chabrias, Chabrias: now do I pay for the love thou diddest bear me when thou wert alive, in bearing with the folly of thy son. But when he saw that the heads of the city of Athens

had as it were by lot divided among themselves the offices of war and peace, and that some of them, as Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides were common speakers and preferers of matters in councils and Senate: and that others, as Diopithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares, became great men by the wars, and had charge of armies: he determined rather to follow the manner of government, of Pericles, Aristides, and Solon, as being mingled of both. For either of them seemed (as the poet Archilochus saith) **Phocion as general**

> To be both champions stout, of Mars's warlike band,
> And of the Muses eke, the arts to understand.

He knew also, that Pallas the goddess and protector of Athens, was called Polemica, and Politica: to wit, skilful to rule both in war and peace. So, having thus disposed of himself in government, he always persuaded peace and quietness, and yet was often chosen captain, and had charge of armies, being the only man that of all the captains afore him, and in his time, did never sue for charge, neither yet refused it at any time, when he was called to serve the commonwealth. It is certain that he was chosen five-and-forty times Prætor, and was always absent at the elections, but yet sent for. Whereupon all the wise men wondered to see the manner of the people towards him, considering that Phocion had never done nor said anything to flatter them withal, but commonly had been against their desires: and how they used other governors notwithstanding, that were more pleasant and delightful in their orations, like men to sport at, as it is said of kings, who after they have washed their hands to

Phocion's notable sayings

go to their meat, do use to have jesters and flatterers to make them merry: but on the other side when they had occasion of wars indeed, how then like wise men they could bethink themselves, and choose the wisest and stoutest man of the city, and that most would withstand their minds and desires. For on a time an oracle of Apollo Delphius, being openly read before them, which said, that all the other Athenians being agreed, yet there was one among them that was contrary to all the rest of the city: Phocion stepping forth before them all, bade them never seek further for the man, for it was he that liked none of all their doings. Another time he chanced to say his opinion before all the people, the which they all praised and approved: but he saw they were so suddenly become of his mind, he turned back to his friends, and asked them: Alas, hath not some evil thing slipped my mouth unwares? Another time a general collection being gathered of the people at Athens, towards the solemnising of a sacrifice: other men of his state having paid their part, he was often also called upon to pay his. But he answered them again, Ask them that be rich, for it were a shame for me to give you anything, being yet in this man's debt: pointing to Callicles the usurer, who had lent him money. But when they left him not for all this, to cry out upon him for the contribution, he began to tell them this tale: That on a time there was a coward preparing to go to the wars, and as he was ready to depart, he heard the ravens what a crying they made, and taking it for an ill sign, he put off his harness, and kept him at home. After that he put on

his harness again, and went on his way towards the camp: the ravens began again to make a goodlier cry behind him. But thereupon he stayed straight, and at length said: Ye shall croak as loud as ye list, before ye feed on my carcass. Another time the Athenians being in war under his charge, would needs have him to lead them to give charge upon their enemies, but he would not: thereupon they called him coward, and said he durst not. Well said he again, it is not you can make me valiant, no more than my self can make you cowards: and yet one of us know another. Another time in a marvellous dangerous time, the people handled him very churlishly, and would needs have him presently deliver account of his charge: but he answered them, O my friends, first save your selves. Furthermore, the people being very lowly and humble, for fear, in time of wars: and presently in peace again waxing brave in words against Phocion, charging him that he had taken the victory out of their hands: he only said this to them, You are happy that have a captain that knows you, else you would sing a new song. Another time there was a quarrel betwixt the Bœotians, and them, about their bounds and frontiers: the which they would not try by law, but by battell. But Phocion told them, they did they wist not what, and counselled them rather to fight it out in words, in which they were the stronger, and not with weapons, where they were the weaker. Another time they so much misliked his opinion in the assembly, that they would not abide to hear him, nor suffer him to speak. Well, my maisters, quoth he then, you may make me do

Phocion's notable sayings

Phocion's sharp sayings

that which is not to be done: but you shall never compel me against my mind, to say that which is not to be spoken. He would as gallantly also gird the orators his adversaries, when they were busy with him. As on a time he answered Demosthenes, that said unto him: The people, Phocion, will kill thee one day, and if it take them in the heads. Yea thee, quoth he, if they be wise. Again, when Polyeuctus Sphettian, in a hot day persuaded the people of Athens to make war with King Philip, sweating, and with much ado fetching his breath, being a fat man, that he was driven oftentimes to drink water, to end his oration: Surely said Phocion, ye shall do marvellous wisely, to make war at such a man's motion. Why, what think ye will he do, when he hath his curates and his target upon him, and that the enemies be ready to fight: that now in making an oration only before you, which he hath studied long before, is almost stifled? Another time also when Lycurgus in his oration had openly reproved him for many things before the people, and among the rest, for that Alexander demanding ten citizens of Athens to do with them what he thought good, that he had counselled them to deliver them: Phocion answered him, I have oftentimes counselled them for the best, but they would never follow my counsel. There was one Archibiades at that time in Athens, that counterfeited the Lacedæmonian, with a marvellous long beard, a beggarly cloak, and a sour look. Phocion being checkt one day before the people, appealed unto Archibiades for a witness, to confirm that he spake. But he rising up, counselled the

people contrarily, to flatter them withal. Phocion perceiving it, took him by the beard, and said unto him: Alas, Archibiades, why didst thou not then clip thy beard, seeing thou wouldst needs flatter? There was another great pleader, one Aristogeiton, that in all the assemblies of the city, did nothing but buzz wars continually in their ears. Afterwards when men were to be levied and mustered, and their names entered that should go to the wars: Aristogeiton came halting into the market-place with a staff in his hand, and both his legs bound up, to make the people believe that he was sick and diseased. Phocion spying Aristogeiton far off, cried out to the clerk that wrote the bills: Put in Aristogeiton, lame, and impudent. So that oftentimes it makes me muse, how, or wherefore so sharp and severe a man (as by these examples it appeareth he was) could come to the surname of good. Notwithstanding, in the end I find it a hard thing, but not impossible, that a man should be like wine, both sweet and sharp together: as there are others to the contrary, that at the first sight, seem very courteous and gentle of conversation, and upon better acquaintance, prove churlish and dogged. It is reported also, that Hyperides the Orator one day should say to the Athenians: I pray you (my lords) note me not for my sharpness, but consider if my sharpness be without profit. As who should say, men are not troublesome, but for covetousness only, and as if the people did not rather fear and hate them, that of insolency and malice, did abuse and contemn their authority. Phocion on the other side, he never did citizen hurt, for any private malice he

Phocion called by surname Good

Phocion had a great name at sea

bare him: but was ever sharp and cruel to them, which were against any matter he preferred, for the benefit of the commonwealth. For in all other things, he shewed himself marvellous lowly and curteous to everybody, and would be familiar with his adversaries, and help them if they wanted, or were otherwise in danger of displeasure with the state. Insomuch as his friends therefore reproved him on a time, when he spake in the behalf of a naughty man, an offender: O said he, honest men need no help. Another time, Aristogeiton the Sycophant, being clapped up in prison, sent unto Phocion to pray him to come and speak with him, after he was condemned. Phocion went into the prison to him, though his friends persuaded him to the contrary, and answered them: O let me alone, said he, for where could I see Aristogeiton more gladly than in prison? Furthermore, when there went any army to sea out of Athens, if there were any other chosen general but Phocion: the towns and islands all alongst the sea-coast, (which were friends and confederates of the Athenians) fortified their walls, filled up their havens, and brought their wives, slaves, and cattle, and all their goods into their towns and cities, as if they had been enemies, and open war proclaimed. Contrarily also, if Phocion had been captain and general, they would send out their ships to the sea to meet him afar off, crowned with garlands in token of common joy, and so would bring him to their cities. King Philip secretly seeking to win the Isle of Eubœa, sent an army thither out of Macedon, and enticed the towns by tyrants to rebel: whereupon Plutarch Eretrian prayed in aid of the Athenians, to take

this island from the Macedonians, which they daily wan more and more, if they came not presently to aid them. So Phocion was sent general thither, but with a few men only, because they made account the men of that country would straight join with him, for the good-will they bare him. But when he came thither, he found them all traitors, and rebels, and bribed with King Philip's money, which he lavished out amongst them: so that he was brought into great danger. Thereupon he retired to a little hill that is severed from the fields of Tamgnæ, with a great large valley, and there fortified himself with that little army he had. Then he persuaded his captains not to care for all those rebels, prattlers, and cowards which fled out of their tents, and forsook their ensigns and captains, but that they should let them go out of the camp where they would. For said he, such disobedient soldiers here will do us no service, and moreover will hinder them that have good-will to serve well: and at home also, knowing themselves in fault, for that they forsook the camp without licence, they dare not complain upon us. Afterwards when the enemies came to set upon him, he commanded his men to arm, and put themselves in readiness, and not to stir, until he had done sacrifice: but he stayed long before he came, either because he could have no lucky signs of the sacrifices, or else for that he would draw his enemies nearer. Thereupon Plutarch Eretrian supposing he deferred to march for fear, went himself first into the field, with certain light horsemen he had in pay. Then the men of arms seeing them give charge, could hold no longer, but

Phocion's journey into Eubœa

His victory in Eubœa.

followed him also, straggling out of the camp one after another disorderly, and so did set upon their enemies. The first being overthrown, all the other dispersed themselves, and Plutarch himself fled. Then certain bands of the enemies thinking all had been theirs, followed them even into their camp, and came to throw down their rampiers. In the meantime, Phocion having ended his sacrifice, the Athenians came out of their camp, and set upon them, and made part of them fly immediately, and part of them also they slew hard by the trenches of their camp. Then Phocion commanded that the battell should stand still, to receive their men that were scattered up and down the fields: and in the mean space, he himself, with the choicest men of his army gave charge upon the enemies. The fight was cruel between them. For the Athenians fought very valiantly, venturing their persons: but of them all, two young men fighting by their general, (Glaucus the son of Polymedes, and Thallus, the son of Cineas) carried the praise away. And so did Cleophanes that day also shew himself very valiant. For he crying out still upon the horsemen that fled, and persuading them to come and help their general that was in danger: brought them back again, and thereby got the footmen the victory. After this battell, he drave Plutarch out of Eretria, and took the castle of Zaretra, standing in a very commodious place for this war, where the isle draweth to a straightness, environed on either side with the sea: and would not suffer his men to take any Grecians prisoners, fearing lest the orators at Athens might move the people suddenly in a rage, to put them to death. After all these things were done, Phocion

returned back to Athens. But then did the confederates of the Athenians straight wish for his justice and courtesy: and the Athenians themselves also knew his skilfulness and manhood. For his successor Molossus, that was general for the rest of the war, dealt so indiscreetly: that he himself was taken prisoner there. Then King Philip being put in marvellous great hope, went with all his army into Hellespont, persuading himself, that he should straight take all Cherronesus, the cities of Perinth and Byzantium. The Athenians thereupon determining to send aid, to prevent King Philip's coming: the orators made great suit, that Chares might be chosen captain: but he being sent thither with a good number of ships, did no service worthy commendation, neither would the cities receive his navy into their havens: but being suspected of every man, and despised of his enemies, he was driven to sail up and down, and to get money of the allies. The people being incensed by the orators, were marvellously offended, and repented themselves that they had sent aid unto the Byzantines. Then Phocion rising up, spake unto the people, and told them, that it was no reason that mistrusting their confederates they should be offended with them: but to be angry with their captains that deserved to be mistrusted. For they, said he, do make your confederates afraid of you, who without you notwithstanding cannot save themselves. The people changing their minds by his oration, made Phocion again their captain, and sent him with an army into Hellespont to help their confederates there, which was of great importance to save the city of Byzantium. Furthermore,

Phocion saved the city of Byzantium,

and drave Philip out of Helles-pont

Phocion's fame was so great, that Cleon, the greatest man of vertue and authority in Byzantium, and had before been Phocion's companion and familiar in the academy: he made suit for him unto the city. Then the Byzantines would not suffer him (though he desired it) to camp without the walls of their city, but opening their gates, received him in, and mingled the Athenians amongst them. Who, perceiving how much the citizens trusted them, did so honestly behave themselves in their conversation amongst them, that they gave them no manner of cause to complain of them: and shewed themselves so valiant besides in all battels and conflicts, that Philip (which before was thought dreadful and invincible, every man being afraid to fight any battell with him) returned out of Hellespont without anything done, and to his great discredit: where Phocion wan some of his ships, and recovered again the strongholds, in the which he had placed his garrisons. Furthermore, making divers invasions into his countries, he destroyed his borders: till that at length he was sore hurt there, and so driven to return home again, by means of a great army that came against him to defend the country: shortly after, the Megarians secretly sent unto him, to deliver their city into his hands. Phocion fearing if the Bœotians understood it, that they would prevent him: he called a common assembly early in the morning, and told the people what message the Megarians had sent unto him. The people upon this motion being determined to aid them: Phocion straight sounding the trumpet at the breaking up of the assembly, gave them no further leisure, but to take their weapons, and so

led them incontinently to Megara. The Megarians receiving him, Phocion shut up the haven of Nisæa, and brought two long walls from the city unto it, and so joined it unto the sea: whereby he stood not greatly in fear of his enemies by land, and for the sea, the Athenians were lords of it. Now when the Athenians had proclaimed open war against King Philip, and had chosen other captains in his absence, and that he was returned from the isles: above all things, he persuaded the people (King Philip requiring peace, and greatly fearing the danger) to accept the conditions of peace. Then one of these busy orators that was still accusing one or other, said unto him: Why Phocion, how darest thou, attempt to turn the Athenians from war, having now their swords in their hands? Yes truly, said Phocion: though in war I know I shall command thee, and in peace thou wilt command me. But when the people would not hearken to him, and that Demosthenes carried them away with his persuasions, who counselled them to fight with King Philip, as far from Attica as they could: I pray thee friend, quoth Phocion unto him, let us not dispute where we shall fight, but consider how we shall overcome, the which if we can so bring to pass, be sure we shall put the war far enough from us. For men that are overcome, be ever in fear and danger, wheresoever they be. When the Athenians had lost a battell against Philip, the seditious orators, that hunted after innovation, preferred Charidemus to be chosen general of the Athenians: whereupon the magistrates and Senators being afraid, and taking with them all the court and Senate of the Areopagites, they made such earnest

Phocion joined Megara unto Athens

To rejoice at any man's hurt sheweth a base mind

suit to the people, with the tears in their eyes, that at last (but with much ado) they obtained, that the affairs of the city might be put into Phocion's hands and government. He thought good to accept the articles and gentle conditions of peace which Philip offered them. But after that the orator Demades moved that the city of Athens would enter into the common treaty of peace, and common assembly of the states of Greece, procured at King Philip's request: Phocion would not agree to it, until they might understand what demands Philip would make at the assembly of the Grecians. When his opinion through the perverseness of time could not be liked of them, and that he saw the Athenians soon after repented them that they did not follow his counsel, when they heard they should furnish King Philip with ships and horsemen: then he told them, The fear whereof ye now complain, made me to withstand that, which now ye have consented unto. But sithence it is so that you have now passed your consents, you must be contented, and not be discouraged at it: remembering that your ancestors in times past have sometime commanded, and other while obeyed others, and yet have so wisely and discreetly governed themselves in both fortunes, that they have not only saved their city, but all Greece besides. When news came of King Philip's death, the people for joy would straight have made bonfires and sacrifices to the gods for the good news: but Phocion would not suffer them, and said, That it was a token of a base mind, to rejoice at any man's death, and besides that, the army which overthrew you at Chæronea, hath not yet lost but one man. And when Demosthenes also

would commonly speak ill of Alexander, and specially when he was so near Thebes with his army: Phocion rehearsed unto him these verses of Homer: Alexander pacified with the Athenians

> How great a folly is it for to stand
> Against a cruel king,
> Which being armed and having sword in hand,
> Seeks fame of everything?

What, when there is such a great fire kindled, wilt thou cast the city into it? for my part therefore, though they were willing, yet will I not suffer them to cast themselves away: for to that end have I taken upon me this charge and government. And afterwards also, when Alexander had razed the city of Thebes, and had required the Athenians to deliver him Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus, and that the whole assembly and council not knowing what answer to make, did all cast their eyes upon Phocion, and cried unto him to say his opinion: he then rose up, and taking one of his friends unto him called Nicocles, whom he loved and trusted above all men else, he said thus openly unto them. These men whom Alexander requireth, have brought this city to this extremity, that if he required Nicocles here, I would give my consent to deliver him: for I would think myself happy to lose my life, for all your safety. Furthermore, though I am right heartily sorry (said he) for the poor afflicted Thebans, that are come into the city for succour: yet I assure ye, it is better one city mourn, than two. And therefore I think it is best to entreat the conqueror for both, rather than to our certain

by Phocion's means

destruction to fight with him that is the stronger. It is said also that Alexander refused the first decree which the people offered him upon Phocion's request, and sent away the ambassadors, and would not speak with them. But the second, which Phocion himself brought, he took: being told by his father's old servants that King Philip made great account of him, whereupon Alexander, did not only give him audience, and grant his request, but further followed his counsel. For Phocion persuaded him, if he loved quietness, to leave war if he desired fame, than that he should make war with the barbarous people, but not with the Grecians. So Phocion feeding Alexander's humour with such talk and discourse as he thought would like him best: he so altered and softened Alexander's disposition, that when he went from him, he willed him that the Athenians should look to their affairs, for if he should die, he knew no people fitter to command than they. Furthermore, because he would be better acquainted with Phocion, and make him his friend: he made so much of him, that he more honoured him, than all the rest of his friends. To this effect, Duris the Historiographer writeth that when Alexander was grown very great, and had overcome King Darius: he left out of his letters this word *chærin* (to wit, joy, and health) which he used commonly in all the letters he wrote, and would no more honour any other with that manner of salutation, but Phocion, and Antipater. Chares also writeth the same. And they all do confess, that Alexander sent Phocion a great gift out of Asia, of a hundred silver talents. This money being brought to Athens, Phocion

asked them that brought it, why Alexander gave him such a great reward, above all the other citizens of Athens. Because said they, he only esteemeth thee to be a good, and honest man. Phocion replied again, Then let him give me leave to be that I seem, and am whilst I live. The messengers would not so leave him, but followed him home to his house, where they saw his great husbandry and thriftiness. For they found his wife her self baking, and he himself drew water before them, out of the well to wash his feet. But then they were more earnestly in hand with him than before, and prayed him to take the king's present, and were offended with him, saying it was a shame for Alexander's friend to live so miserably and beggarly as he did. Then Phocion seeing a poor old man go by, in a threadbare gown, asked them whether they thought him worse than he? No, God forbid, answered they again. Then replied he again, he lives with less than I do, and yet is contented, and hath enough. To be short, said he, if I should take this sum of money and occupy it not, it is as much as I had it not: on the other side, if I occupy it, I shall make all the city speak ill of the king and me both. So this great present was sent back from Athens, whereby he shewed the Grecians, that he was richer that needed not such gold and silver, than he that gave it him. But when Alexander wrote again unto Phocion, that he did not reckon them for his friends, that would take nothing of him: Phocion notwithstanding would not take the money, but only requested him for his sake, that he would set these men at liberty, which were kept prisoners in the city of Sardis, for certain accusations laid against

Phocion's vertue and integrity

Phocion's house and wives

them: Echecratides the Rhetorician, Athenodorus born in the city of Imbros, and two Corinthians, Demaratus and Spartus. Alexander presently set them at liberty, and sent Craterus into Macedon, commanding him to give Phocion the choice of one of these four cities of Asia which he liked best: Cios, Gergitha, Mylasas, Elæa: sending him word, that he would be much more angrier with him now, if he did refuse this offer, than he was at the first. But Phocion would never accept any one of them: and Alexander shortly after died. Phocion's house is seen yet at this day in the village of Melita, set forth with plates of copper, but otherwise very mean, and without curiosity. For his wives he married, there is no mention made of the first, saving that Cephisodotus the image-graver was her brother. But for his second wife she was no less famous at Athens, for her honesty and good housewifery: than Phocion for his justice and equity. And for proof thereof, it is reported that the Athenians being one day assembled in the theatre, to see new tragedies played, one of the players when he should have come upon the scaffold, to have played his part, asked the setter forth of the plays the apparel of a queen, and certain ladies to wait upon her, because he was to play the part of the queen. The setter forth of the plays denying him, the player went away in a rage, and left the people staring one at another, and would not come out upon the stage. But Melanthius the setter forth of the plays, compelling him, brought him by force on the stage, and cried out unto him: Dost thou not see Phocion's wife that goeth up and down the city with one maid only waiting upon her? and wilt thou play the fool,

and mar the modesty of the women of Athens? the people hearing his words, filled all the theatre with joy and clapping of hands. The same lady, when a certain gentlewoman of Ionia came to Athens to see her, and shewed her all her rich jewels and precious stones she had: she answered her again, All my riches and jewels, is my husband Phocion, who these twenty years together hath continually been chosen general for the Athenians. Phocion's son telling his father on a time, that he was desirous to contend with other young men for the victory, who should cunningliest leap out, and get up again into the chariots or coaches, running full course at the feasts Panathanæa at Athens: his father was contented he should, not that he was desirous his son should have the honour of the victory, but because by his honest exercise he should grow to better manner, for that he was a dissolute young man, and much given to wine. Yet he wan the victory at that time, and there were divers of his father's friends, that prayed him to do them that honour, that they might keep the feast of this victory in their houses. Phocion denied them all, but one man, and him he suffered to shew his good-will unto his house and went thither himself to supper to him. Where amongst many fine and superfluous things prepared, he found passing baths of wine and sweet-smelling spices to wash the feet of the bidden guests as they came to the feast. Whereupon he called his son to him, and asked him, How canst thou abide Phocus, that our friend should thus disgrace thy victory with excess? but because he would withdraw his son from that licentious life, he brought him to Sparta, and placed him there among young

Phocus Phocion's son, what he was

Phocion despiseth Harpalus' money

boys brought up after the Laconian discipline. The Athenians were much offended at it, to see that Phocion did so much despise his own country manner and fashions. Also when Demades the Orator one day said unto Phocion: Why do we not persuade the Athenians to live after the Laconian manner? As for me (said he) if thou wilt make one to set it forward: I am ready to be the first man to move the matter. Indeed, quoth Phocion, thou art a meet man to persuade the Athenians to live Laconian like, in common together at their meals, and to praise Lycurgus' straight law: that art thy self commonly so perfumed, and fine in thy apparel. Another time when Alexander writ letters unto Athens to send him some ships, and that the orators persuaded them not to grant him, the people called upon Phocion chiefly to say his opinion: then Phocion told them plainly, Me thinks ye must either make your selves the strongest in wars, or being the weaker, procure to be friends unto the stronger. Pythias a new-come orator, being full of tongue, and impudent, would still make one to speak in every matter: wherefore Phocion said to him, Good gods, will this novice never leave babbling? And when Harpalus King Alexander's lieutenant of the province of Babylon, fled out of Asia, and came to Attica with a great sum of gold and silver: straight these men that sold their tongues to the people for money, flocked about him like a sight of swallows. And he stuck not to give every one of them a piece of money to baste them with: for it was a trifle to him, considering the great sums of money he brought. But to Phocion himself, he sent unto him seven hundred talents, and

offered himself and all that he had into his hands of trust. But Phocion gave him a sharp answer, and told him, that he would make him repent it, if he corrupted the city of Athens in that manner. So Harpalus being amated therewith, left him at that time, and went unto them that had taken money of him. But shortly after, when the Athenians sat in council about him, he perceived that those which had taken his money were shrunk from him, and that they did accuse him, where they should have excused him, to blear the world, that men should not suspect them they had been corrupted: and that Phocion on the other side which had refused his money, having respect to the commonwealth, had also some regard to save his life: he once more attempted all the ways he could to win him. Howbeit he found him so constant, that no money could carry the man. Then Harpalus falling in friendship with Charicles (Phocion's son-in-law) he made him to be ill-spoken of, and greatly suspected, because men saw that he trusted him in all things, and employed him in all his affairs. As in committing to his trust the making of a sumptuous tomb for Pythonicè, the famous courtesan that was dead, whom he loved, and by whom he had a daughter: the taking upon him whereof was no less shame unto Charicles, than the finishing thereof was disgrace unto him. This tomb is seen unto this day in a place called Hermium, in the highway from Athens to Eleusis; the workmanship thereof being nothing like near the charge of thirty talents, which was reported to be given by Harpalus unto Charicles, for the finishing of the same. Furthermore after Harpalus' death, Charicles

Phocion refuseth to defend

his son-in-law in an ill case

and Phocion took his daughter, and carefully brought her up. Afterwards also, Charicles being accused for the money he had taken of Harpalus, he besought his father-in-law Phocion, to help to ease him in his judgement. But Phocion flatly denied him, and said: Charicles I took thee for my son-in-law, in all honest and just causes only. Furthermore, when Asclepiades the son of Hipparchus, brought the first news of the death of King Alexander, Demades the Orator would not believe him: For said he, if it were true, all the earth would smell of the savour of his corpse, Phocion then perceiving the people began to be high-minded, and sought innovation: he went about to bridle and pacify them. But when many of the orators got up to the pulpit for orations, and cried out that Asclepiades' news was true of Alexander's death: Well then quoth Phocion, if it be true to-day, it shall be true also to-morrow, and the next day after. And therefore my masters, be not too hasty, but think of it at better leisure, and set your affairs at a sure stay. When Leosthenes also by his practice had brought the city of Athens into the war called the Greeks' War, and in scorn asked Phocion that was offended at it, What good he had done unto the commonwealth so many years together, as he had been general over the Athenians: Phocion answered him, No small good said he, for all my countrymen have been buried at home in their own graves. Another time also, Leosthenes speaking proudly and insolently unto the people, Phocion one day said unto him: Young man my friend, thy words are like unto a cypress tree, which is high and great, but beareth no fruit.

Then Hyperides rising up, asked Phocion: When wilt thou then counsel the Athenians to make war? When I shall see young men said he not to forsake their ranks, rich men liberal, and orators leave to rob the commonwealth. When the Athenians wondred to see such a goodly great army as Leosthenes had levied: and that they asked Phocion how he liked it: A goodly army, quoth he, for a furlong, but I fear their return, and the continuance of this war: for I do not see the city able to make any more money, nor more ships, neither yet any more soldiers than these. The which proved true, as it fell out afterwards: for at the first, Leosthenes did many notable exploits. He overcame the Bœotians in battell, and drave Antipater into the city of Lamia: the which did put the Athenians in such a hope and jollity, that they made continual feasts and sacrifices through the city to thank the gods for these good news. And there were some among them, that to take Phocion in a trip, asked him if he did not wish that he had done all those things? Yes indeed answered he, I would I had done them, but yet I would not have given the counsel to have done them. Another time also when letters came daily, one after another, bringing good news, Good gods, said he, when shall we leave off to overcome? When Leosthenes was dead in this voyage, they that feared Phocion should be appointed captain in his place, and that he would pacify the war: did thrust in a man of mean behaviour, and unknown, that said in the assembly, that he was Phocion's friend, and schoolfellow, and therefore besought the people that they would spare Phocion, because

Phocion and the war with Antipater

Phocion's object-lesson

they had not such another man as he, and that they would make Antiphilus general of their army. The people were contented withal. But then Phocion stood up, and said, that this man was never scholar with him, neither did he ever know him before that time: But now said he, from henceforth I will take thee for my friend, for thou hast given the people the best counsel for me. The people notwithstanding determining to make war with the Bœotians, Phocion spake against it all he could. Thereupon his friends bidding him beware of such speeches, how he did offend the people, lest they killed him: he answered them, They shall wrongfully put me to death quoth he, speaking for the benefit of my country, but otherwise they shall have reason for to do it, if I speak to the contrary. But when he saw nothing would pacify them, and that they went on still with their intent: then he commanded the herald to proclaim by sound of trumpet, That all citizens from fourteen years unto three score, able to carry weapon, should presently upon breaking up of the assembly, arm themselves, and to follow him with five days' provision for victuals. Then was there great stir amongst them in the city, and the old men came and complained unto him, for his over-straight commandment. He told them again, I do you no wrong: for I am four score my self, and yet will go with you. By this means he pacified them at that time, and quenched their fond desire of war. But when all the sea-coast was full of soldiers, both of the Macedonians, and other strangers which were led by Micion their captain, that landed in the territory of the village Rhamnus, and spoiled

the country thereabouts: then Phocion led the Athenians thither. But when he was there, divers taking upon them the office of a lieutenant, and going about to counsel him, some to lodge his camp upon such a hill, and others to send his horsemen to such a place, and others to camp here: O Hercules quoth he, how many captains do I see, and how few soldiers? Afterwards when he had set his footmen in battel ray, there was one among them that left his rank, and stepped out before them all. Thereupon one of his enemies also made towards him to fight with him: but the Athenian's heart failed him, and he went back again to his place. Then said Phocion unto him: Art thou not ashamed, young lout, to have forsaken thy rank twice? the one, where thy captain had placed thee, and the other in the which thou hadst placed thy self? So Phocion giving charge upon the enemies, he overthrew them, and slew Micion their captain, with divers others. Furthermore, the army of the Grecians being at that time in Thessaly, wan a battell of Antipater, and Leonnatus, that joined with him with the Macedonians which he had brought out of Asia: where Leonatus was slain in the field, Antiphilus being general of the footmen, and Menon Thessalian, colonel of the horsemen. Shortly after Craterus coming out of Asia into Europe with a great army, they fought a battell by the city of Cranon, where the Grecians were overthrown: yet was not the overthrow nor slaughter great, although it came through the disobedience of the soldiers to their captains, which were but young men and used them over gently. Moreover, when Antipater practised to make the

Phocion's discipline of wars

The Grecians overcome by Antipater

cities revolt, they betrayed them, and shamefully forsook to defend their common liberty: whereupon Antipater marched forthwith with his army, to the city of Athens. Demosthenes and Hyperides understanding that, forsook the city. Then Demades, that was in disgrace and defamed for lack of payment of such fines as were set upon his head (being seven several times condemned, because he had so many times moved matters contrary to the law) and could not therefore be suffered any more to speak in the assembly, was then dispensed withal, and licenced to speak: whereupon he moved the people to send ambassadors unto Antipater, with full commission and authority to treat with him of peace. The people fearing to put to any man's trust this absolute authority to treat of peace: they called for Phocion, saying that he only was to be trusted with the embassy. Then Phocion answered them: If you had believed my former counsels I always gave you, such weighty matters should not now have troubled you at all. So the decree being confirmed by the people, Phocion was sent ambassador unto Antipater, that lay at the castle of Cadmea, being ready at that time to invade the country of Attica. Phocion first requested him, that before he removed from thence, he would make peace with the Athenians. Craterus presently answered him: Phocion, thy request is unreasonable, that lying here we should eat out our friends, and destroy their country: when we may live off our enemies, and enrich our selves with their spoil. But Antipater taking Craterus by the hand, told him: We must needs do Phocion this pleasure. And for the rest, touching the capitula-

tions of peace, he willed that the Athenians should send them a blank, and refer the conditions of peace to them: like as himself being besieged in the city Lamia, had referred all capitulations and articles of peace unto the discretion of Leosthenes their general. So when Phocion was come back to Athens, the Athenians seeing there was no remedy, were compelled to be contented with such offer of peace, as the enemy made them. Then Phocion was sent back again to Antipater at Thebes, with other ambassadors joined in commission with him: amongst whom also was that famous philosopher Xenocrates. The estimation of his vertue was so great with all men, that it was thought there was no living man so proud, cruel, disdainful, nor hasty of nature, but that the only look of Xenocrates would soften and qualify him, and make him to reverence him: but yet with Antipater it fell out contrary, by his perverse nature, which hated all vertue: for he embraced all the rest, and would not once salute Xenocrates. Whereupon, some say, that Xenocrates said then, Antipater doth well to be ashamed, to see me a witness of the discourtesy and evil he meaneth unto the Athenians. So when Xenocrates began to speak, Antipater would not abide to hear him, but interrupted him, and checked him, and in the end commanded him to hold his peace. When Phocion had spoken, Antipater answered them, That he would make peace with the Athenians, so they delivered him Demosthenes and Hyperides: that they should keep their ancient laws and government, that they should receive a garrison into the haven of Munychia, that they should defray the charges of this

Phocion ambassador unto Antipater

Xenocrates despised of Antipater

war, and also pay a ransom besides. All the other ambassadors but Xenocrates, willingly accepted these conditions of peace, as very reasonable and favourable: but he said that for slaves, Antipater did handle them favourably, but for free men, he dealt too hardly with them. Then Phocion besought him that he would yet release them of their garrison. But Antipater (as it is said) answered him: Phocion, we would gladly grant thee anything, saving that which should undo thee, and us both. Some other write notwithstanding, that Antipater said not so, but asked him, if he would become surety for the Athenians, that they should attempt no alteration, but faithfully keep the articles and conditions of this peace, if he did release them of this garrison. Phocion then holding his peace, and delaying answer, there was one Callimedon surnamed Carabos, (a bold man, and hated the liberty of the people) that brake forth in these words: If Phocion were so fond to give his word for the Athenians, wouldst thou Antipater believe him therefore, and leave to do that thou hast determined? Thus were the Athenians, driven to receive the garrison of the Macedonians of the which Menyllus was captain, an honest man, and Phocion's friend. This commandment to receive the garrison within the haven of Munychia, was found very stately, and done by Antipater rather of a vainglory to boast of his power, than for any profit could otherwise come of it. For not long after, on that day when he took possession of the castle, he further increased their grief: because the garrison entered the twentieth day of Boëdromion (to wit, the moneth of August) on the which the feast day

of their mysteries was celebrated, at what time they make their procession called Iacchus, from the city of Athens, unto Eleusis. Therefore the solemnity of this holy feast being thus confused, many began to consider, that in old time when their realm did flourish, there were heard and seen voices and images of the gods on that day, which made the enemies both afraid, and amazed: and now in contrary manner in the very self same solemnity of the gods, they saw the greatest calamity that could have happened unto Greece. And the holiest feast which was kept all the year through before, became then too profaned with the title of the greatest misfortune and event, that ever happened unto the Grecians, which was, the loss of their liberty. For, not many years before, there was brought an oracle from Dodone unto Athens: that they should look well to the rocks of Diana, that strangers should not possess them. And about that time also the coverings with the which they do adorn the holy beds of the mysteries, being wet with water, became from a purple colour which they had before, to look yellow and pale, as if it had been the covering of a dead body. Yea, and that which was most to be wondered at of all other, was this: that taking other coverings which were not holy, and putting them in the same water, they did without changing keep their colour they had before. When one of the ministers of the temple also did wash a white pig in the sea in a clean place, by the wharf: there suddenly came a great fish that bit at it, and carried the hinder parts of the pig clean away with it. Whereby men conjectured that the gods did signify unto them, that they should lose the lowest part of

Presages of the miseries

of the Athenians

their city, nearest unto the sea, and should keep the highest parts thereof. This notwithstanding, the garrison did not offend nor trouble the Athenians, because of the honesty of their captain Menyllus. Now there were above twelve thousand citizens, that for their poverty lost the benefit of their freedom of the which, part of them remained at Athens, unto whom it seemed that they offered great wrong and injury: and part of them also went into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them towns and lands to inhabit. They seemed to be men like unto them, that had been taken by assault, or by siege within a city, which had been compelled to forsake their country. Furthermore, the shameful death of Demosthenes in the Isle of Calauria, and of Hyperides, by the city of Cleonæ, (whereof we have written heretofore) were almost occasion given them to lament the times of the reign of King Philip and Alexander. As it is reported that when Antigonus was slain, they that had overcome him, were so cruel unto their subjects: that a labourer in the country of Phrygia digging the earth, being asked what he sought for, answered sighing: I seek for Antigonus. Then many men began to say as much, when they remembered the noble minds of those two princes, how merciful they were to pardon in their anger, forgetting their displeasure: not like unto Antipater, who craftily cloaked his tyrannical power, which he usurped, by being familiar, going simply apparelled, and faring meanly: and yet shewed himself notwithstanding a more cruel lord and tyrant unto them whom he had overcome. Nevertheless Phocion obtained of him the restoring again of divers men, whom he had banished: and those

whom he could not get to be restored, yet he procured that they should not be banished into so far countries, as others which had been sent beyond the mountains Acroceraunians, and the head of Tænarus out of Greece, but that they had liberty to remain within the country of Peloponnesus: among the which was one Hagnonides a sycophant, and false accuser. Furthermore, he governed them that remained in Athens with great justice and lenity, and such as he knew to be good men and quiet, them he always preferred to some office: but such as he saw were fantastical people, and desirous of change, he kept them from office, and took all occasion from them, so that they vanished away of themselves, and learned in time to love the country, and to follow tillage. When he saw Xenocrates also pay a certain pension or tribute to the commonwealth, which all strangers dwelling in Athens did use yearly to pay: he would have made him a freeman, and offered to put his name amongst the number of free citizens. But Xenocrates refused it, saying he would have no part of that freedom, for the hindrance whereof, he had been sent ambassador. And when Menyllus had sent Phocion money, he made him answer: That Menyllus was no greater lord than Alexander had been, neither had he at that time any greater occasion to receive his present, than when he had refused King Alexander's gift. Menyllus replying again, said That if he had no need of it for himself, yet he might let his son Phocus have it. But Phocion answered: If my son Phocus will leave his naughty life, and become an honest man, that which I will leave him, shall serve his turn very well: but if it be so that he will still

Phocion refuseth Menyllus' gifts

The insolencies of Demades

hold on the course he hath taken, there is no riches then that can suffice him. Another time also he answered Antipater more roundly, when he would have had him done an unhonest thing: Antipater, said he, cannot have me to be his friend, and flatterer both. Antipater self was wont to say, that he had two friends at Athens, Phocion and Demades: of the which he could never make the one to take anything of him, and the other, he could never satisfy him. And truly Phocion's poverty was a great glory unto his vertue, sithence he was grown old, continuing in the same, after he had been so many times general of the Athenians, and had received such friendship and courtesy of so many kings and princes. Where Demades to the contrary delighted to shew his riches, in things that were contrary to the laws of the city. For, a decree being made at Athens, commanding that no stranger, upon forfeiture of a thousand drachmas to be paid by the defrayer of the dances of the city, should be any of the dancers that danced at any common plays or sports: Demades one day making certain games and sports at his own charges, brought a hundred dancers of strangers at one time, and withal, brought also a hundred thousand drachmas to pay the forfeiture thereof. Another time, when he married his son Demas, he said unto him: Son, when I married thy mother there was so small roast, that my next neighbour knew not of it: where now at thy marriage, kings and princes are at the charge of the feast. Furthermore, when the Athenians were importunate with Phocion to go unto Antipater, to entreat him to take his garrison out of their city: he still refused the embassy either because he had

no hope to obtain it, or for that he saw the people more obedient unto reason, for fear of the garrison. Howbeit, he obtained of Antipater, that he should not be too hasty in the demanding of his money, but should defer it until a further time. So the Athenians perceiving they could do no good with Phocion, they entreated Demades, who willingly took the matter upon him, and went with his son into Macedon, whither doubtless his destiny carried him to his utter destruction, even at that very time when Antipater was fallen sick of a disease whereof he died: whereby the affairs of the realm went through the hands of Cassander his son, who had intercepted a letter of this Demades, which he had sent unto Antigonus in Asia, willing him to come in all possible speed to win Greece and Macedon, which hung but of an old rotten thread, mocking Antipater in this manner. Wherefore Cassander being advertised of his arrival, he made him presently to be apprehended, and setting his son hard by him, slew him before his father, so near him, that the blood of his son sprang upon him: so that the father was all bloodied with the murder of his son. Then Cassander casting in Demades' teeth his ingratitude, and treacherous treason against his father, giving him all the reproachful words he could devise: at the length he slew him with his own hands. Now Antipater before his death, had established Polysperchon general of the army of the Macedonians, and Cassander his son only colonel of a thousand footmen. He notwithstanding, after his father's decease, taking upon him the government of the realm: sent Nicanor with speed to succeed Menyllus in the captainship of the garrison of Athens, before

The unfortunate end of Demades

Polysperchon's conspiracy against Phocion

his death should be revealed, commanding him first in any case, to take the castle of Munychia, which he did. Shortly after, the Athenians understanding of the death of Antipater, they accused Phocion for that he had known of his death long before, and yet kept it secret to please Nicanor. But Phocion regarded not this accusation, but fell in acquaintance notwithstanding with Nicanor: whom he handled so wisely, that he made him not only friendly unto the Athenians but furthermore persuaded him to be at some charge to give the people the pastime of common plays, which he made to be done at his cost. In the meantime, Polysperchon, who had the government of the king's person, meaning to give Cassander a slampant and blurt, he sent letters-patents unto the people at Athens, declaring how the young king did restore unto them their popular state again, and commanded that all the Athenians should use their former ancient laws of their city. This was a wile and crafty fetch against Phocion. For Polysperchon devising this practice to get the city of Athens into his hands (as it fell out afterwards by proof) had no hope to obtain his purpose, unless he found means first to banish Phocion: and thought that he should easily bring that to pass, when such as had before been put off their freedom, by his means, should come again to have voices in the assembly, and that the seditious orators and accusers might be turned at liberty again, to say what they would. The Athenians having heard the contents of these letters-patents, began to be somewhat quickened and moved withal: whereupon Nicanor desiring to speak with the Athenians in their Senate, which was assembled in the haven

of Piræus: he went and hazarded his person amongst them, upon Phocion's faith and word. Dercyllus captain for the king, being secretly advertised thereof, and in the field, not far from the city, did what he could to take Nicanor: but Nicanor having warning of it in time, saved himself. Then it appeared, that Nicanor would presently be revenged of the city, and they accused Phocion because he kept him not, but did let him go. Whereunto he answered: That he trusted Nicanor's word, and that he did not think he would offer the city any hurt, but if it should fall out otherwise, he had rather the world should know, that he had the wrong offered him, than that he should offer any. This truly appeared to be nobly spoken, in respect of himself. But considering that he being then general, did thereby hazard the safety of his country: I cannot tell whether he did not break a greater faith which he ought to have had to the safety of his countrymen. Neither could he also allege for his excuse, that he did not lay hands on Nicanor, for fear to bring the city into manifest war: but that for a colour he did prefer the faith which he had sworn and promised unto him, and the justice that he would observe in his behalf: that for his sake, Nicanor should afterwards keep himself in peace, and do no hurt to the Athenians. Howbeit in truth it seemed, that nothing deceived Phocion, but the over trust he had in this Nicanor. The which seemeth to be so, because when divers came to him to complain of Nicanor, that he sought all the secret means he could to surprise the haven of Piræus, and that he daily passed over soldiers in the Isle of Salamis, and practised to bribe certain of

Better to receive than to offer an injury

Phocion accused of treason

the inhabitants within the precinct of the haven: he would never hear of it, and much less believe it. Furthermore, when Philomedes Lambrian made a motion, that the Athenians should prepare to be in readiness to wait upon their captain Phocion, to do as he commanded them: he made no account of it, until he saw Nicanor come out with his soldiers from the fort of Munychia, and that he began to cast trenches to compass in the haven of Piræus. But then, when Phocion thought to lead out the people to prevent him: he found they mutinied against him, and no man would obey his commandment. In the meantime, Alexander the son of Polysperchon came with an army, pretending to aid them of the city against Nicanor, where indeed he meant (if he could) to get the rest of the city into his hands, then specially, when they were in greatest broil one against another, and the rather, because the banished men entred hand over head with him, and divers strangers also, and other defamed men: so that there was a confused council and assembly of omnigatherum kept within the city, without any order, in the which Phocion was deprived of his office of general, and others were also chosen captains in his place. And had they not seen this Alexander talking alone with Nicanor, and returning many times hard to the walls of the city, which made the Athenians afraid and mistrustful: they had never saved it from taking. At that time Phocion was presently accused of treason by the orator Hagnonides: the which Callimedon and Pericles fearing got them out of the city betimes. And Phocion also with his friends that were not fled, went unto Polysperchon: with whom also Solon

Platæan, and Dinarchus Corinthian, went for company, who thought to have found friendship and familiarity with Polysperchon. Howbeit, Dinarchus falling sick by the way, in the city of Elatea, they stayed there many days, hoping of his recovery. But in the meantime, the people at the persuasion of the orator Hagnonides, and at the request of Archestratus, established a decree, to send ambassadors unto Polysperchon, to accuse Phocion: insomuch as both parties met at one self time, and found him in the field with the king about a village of the country of Phocid, called Pharygæ, standing at the foot of the mountain Acrurion, which they surname also Galaté. There Polysperchon commanded a cloth of gold to be set up, and caused the king to be set under the same, and all his chiefest friends about him. But to begin withal, he made Dinarchus to be taken, and commanded them to put him to death after they had racked him: then he willed the Athenians to tell what they had to say. Then they began to quarrel, and to be loud one with another, accusing one another in the presence of the king and his council: until Hagnonides at length stepped forth, and said: My lords of Macedon, put us all in prison, and then send us bound hands and feet to Athens, to give account of our doings. The king laughed to hear him say so. But the noblemen of Macedon that were present then, and divers strangers besides to hear their complaints: made sign to the ambassadors to utter their accusations before the king, rather than to refer them to the hearing of the people at Athens. Howbeit both parties had not alike indifferent hearing: for Polysperchon checked

Polysperchon did put Dinarchus to death

Phocion sent prisoner to Athens

up Phocion oftentimes, and did still cut off his tale, as he thought to purge himself: insomuch as in anger, he beat his staff he had in his hand against the ground, and commanded him at length to hold his peace, and to get him thence. And when Hegemon also told Polysperchon, that he himself could best witness, how Phocion had always faithfully served and loved the people: he angrily answered him, Come not hither to lie falsely upon me, in the presence of the king. Therewith the king rose out of his seat, and took a spear in his hand, thinking to have killed Hegemon: had not Polysperchon suddenly embraced him behind, and stayed him. So the council rose, and brake up, but presently Phocion was apprehended, and they that stood by him. Certain of his friends seeing that, which stood further off, muffled their faces, and straight conveyed themselves away. The rest were sent prisoners to Athens by Clitus, not so much to have their causes heard there, as to have them executed for condemned men. Furthermore, the manner of the carrying of them to Athens was shameful. For they were carried upon carts through the great street Ceramicus, unto the theatre: where Clitus kept them, until the Senate had assembled the people, excepting no bondman, no stranger, nor defamed person out of this assembly, but left the theatre wide open to all comers in whatsoever they were, and the pulpit for orations free for every man that would speak against them. So first of all, the king's letters were read openly, by the which he did advertise the people, that he had found these offenders convicted of treason: notwithstanding,

that he referred the sentence of their condemnation unto them, for that they were freemen. Then Clitus brought his prisoners before the people, where the noblemen when they saw Phocion, were ashamed, and hiding their faces, wept to see him. Howbeit, there was one that rose up and said: My lords, sith the king referreth the judgement of so great persons unto the people, it were great reason all the bondmen and strangers which are no free citizens of Athens, should be taken out of this assembly. The people would not agree to it, but cried out, That such traitors should be stoned to death, that favour the authority of a few, and are enemies of the people: whereupon silence was made, and no man durst speak any more for Phocion. Nevertheless when Phocion with much ado had obtained audience, he asked them: My lords, will ye justly or wrongfully put us to death? Some answered him: Justly. How then can ye do it, quoth he, that will not hear our justifications? Yet could they not be heard for all this. Then Phocion coming nearer, said unto them. For my self, my lords, I confess I have done you wrong, and have in government committed faults deserving death: but for these prisoners with me, what have they done why you should put them to death? The common people answered him: Because they are thy friends. With this answer Phocion departed, and spake never a word more. Then the orator Hagnonides holding a decree in his hand ready written, read it openly to the people, declaring how they should be judged by voices, whether the offenders had deserved death or not: and if it were found they had, then that they should all be put to

The fury of the Athenians

against Phocion

death. And there were that when this decree was read, cried out, That they should add further unto the decree, that before Phocion should be put to death, they should first torment him: and therewithal commandment was given that the wheel should be set up to break his joints upon it, and also that the hangman should be sent for. But then Hagnonides perceiving that Clitus was offended with it, and thinking besides it were too beastly and barbarous a part to use him in that sort, he said openly: My lords, when you shall have such a varlet in your hands at Callimedon, then you may cast him on the wheel: but against Phocion, I would not wish such cruelty. Then rose up a nobleman among them, and added to his words: Thou hast reason to say so, Hagnonides: for if Phocion should be laid on the wheel, what should we then do with thee? The decree being confirmed according to the contents thereof, judgement was given by voices of the people, no man sitting out all standing up, and most of them with garlands on their heads, for the joy they had to condemn these prisoners to death. With Phocion there were condemned, Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles: but Demetrius Phalerian, Callimedon and Charicles were also in their absence condemned to die. Now when the assembly was broken up, and that the persons condemned were carried back to prison, from thence to be conveyed to execution: others embracing their friends, and taking their last leave of them as they went, wept, and lamented their cursed fortune. But Phocion looking as cheerfully of it as he was wont to do being general, when they honourably waited on him

to his house from the assembly: he made many of them pity him in their hearts to consider his constancy and noble courage. On the other side also, there were many of his enemies that came as near unto him as they could, to revile him, amongst whom there was one that stepped before him, and did spit in his face. Then Phocion turning him unto the magistrates, said: Will ye not cause this impudent fellow to leave his railing? When they were in prison, Thudippus seeing the hemlock which they brayed in a mortar to give them to drink: he began desperately to curse and ban, saying, That they wrongfully put him to death with Phocion. Why, said Phocion again: and dost thou not rather rejoice to die with me? When one that stood by asked Phocion, if he would anything to his son Phocus: Yes, quoth he, that I will: bid him never revenge the wrong the Athenians do me. Then Nicocles one of Phocion's dearest friends, prayed him to let him drink the poison before him. Phocion answered him, Thy request is grievous to me, Nicocles: but because I never denied thee anything in my life, I will also grant thee this at my death. When all the rest had drunk, there was no more poison left, and the hangman said he would make no more unless they gave him twelve drachmas, for so much the pound did cost him. Phocion perceiving then that the hangman delayed time, he called one of his friends unto him, and prayed him to give the hangman that little money he demanded, sith a man cannot die at Athens for nothing, without cost. It was the nineteenth day of the moneth of Munychion, (to wit, March) on which day the knights were wont to make a solemn procession in the honour of Jupiter:

The constancy and courage of Phocion

Phocion's funerals

howbeit some of them left off the garlands of flowers which they should have worn on their heads, and others also looking towards the prison door as they went by, burst out a-weeping. For, they whose hearts were not altogether hardened with cruelty, and whose judgements were not wholly suppressed with envy, thought it a grievous sacrilege against the gods, that they did not let that day pass, but that they did defile so solemn a feast, with the violent death of a man. His enemies notwithstanding, continuing still their anger against him, made the people pass a decree, that his body should be banished, and carried out of the bounds of the country of Attica, forbidding the Athenians that no fire should be made for the solemnising of his funerals. For this respect no friend of his durst once touch his body. Howbeit a poor man called Conopion, that was wont to get his living that way, being hired for money to burn men's bodies: he took his corpse, and carried it beyond the city of Eleusi, and getting fire out of a woman's house of Megara, he solemnised his funerals. Furthermore, there was a gentlewoman of Megara, who coming by chance that way, with her gentlewomen, where his body was but newly burnt: she caused the earth to be cast up a little where the body was burnt, and made it like to a hollow tomb, whereupon she did use such sprinklings and effusions, as are commonly done at the funerals of the dead: and then taking up his bones in her lap in the night, she brought them home, and buried them in her hearth, saying: O dear hearth, to thee I bequeath the relics of this noble and good man, and pray thee to keep them faithfully, to bring them one day to the grave of his ancestors, when the Athenians

shall come to confess the fault and wrong they have done unto him. And truly it was not long after, that the Athenians found by the untowardness of their affairs, that they had put him to death, who only maintained justice, and honesty at Athens. Whereupon they made his image to be set up in brass, and gave honourable burial to his bones, at the charges of the city. And for his accusers, they condemned Hagnonides of treason, and put him to death themselves. The other two, Epicurus and Demophilus being fled out of the city, were afterwards met with by his son Phocus, who was revenged of them. This Phocus as men report, was otherwise no great good man, who fancying a young maid which a bawd kept, coming by chance one day into the school of Lyceum, he heard Theodorus the Atheist (to wit, that believed not there were any gods) make this argument. If it be no shame, said he, to deliver a man's friend from bondage, no more shame is it to redeem his leman which he loveth: even so it is all one to redeem a man's leman, as his friend. This young man taking this argument to serve his turn, believing that he might lawfully do it, got the young maid he loved from the bawd. Furthermore, this death of Phocion did also revive the lamentable death of Socrates unto the Grecians: for men thought that it was a like heinous offence and calamity unto the city of Athens.

The Athenians honoured Phocion after his death

THE END OF PHOCION'S LIFE.

THE LIFE OF
CATO UTICAN

The parentage of Cato

The family and house of Cato, took his first glory and name of his great-grandfather, Cato the Censor: who for his vertue (as we have declared in his life) was one of the famousest and worthiest men of Rome in his time. This Cato whom we now write of, was left an orphan by his father and mother, with his brother Cæpio, and Porcia his sister. Servilia was also Cato's half-sister, by his mother's side. All these were brought up with their uncle Livius Drusus, at that time the greatest man of the city: for he was passing eloquent, and very honest, and of as great a courage besides, as any other Roman. Men report, that Cato from his childhood shewed himself both in word and countenance, and also in all his pastimes and recreations, very constant and stable. For he would go through with that he took upon him to do, and would force himself above his strength: and as he could not away with flatterers, so was he rough with them that went about to threaten him. He would hardly laugh, and yet had ever a pleasant countenance. He was not cholerick, nor easy to be angered: but when the blood was up, he was hardly pacified. When he was first put to school, he was very dull of understanding, and slow to learn: but when he had once learned it, he would

never forget it, as all men else commonly do. For such as are quick of conceit, have commonly the worst memories: and contrarily, they that are hard to learn, do keep that better which they have learned. For every kind of learning is a motion and quickening of the mind. He seemed besides not to be light of credit, and that may be some cause of his slowness in conceit. For truly he suffereth somewhat that learneth, and thereof it cometh, that they that have least reason to resist, are those which do give lightest credit. For young men are easilier persuaded than old men, and the sick than the whole. And where a man hath least reason for his doubts: there he is soonest brought to believe anything. This notwithstanding, it is reported that Cato was obedient unto his schoolmaister, and would do what he commanded him: howbeit he would ask him still the cause and reason of everything. Indeed his schoolmaister was very gentle, and readier to teach him, than to strike him with his fist. His name was Sarpedon. Furthermore, when Cato was but a young boy, the people of Italy which were confederates of the Romans, sued to be made free citizens of Rome. At that time it chanced one Pompædius Silo, a valiant soldier, and of great estimation among the confederates of the Romans, and a great friend besides of Drusus: to be lodged many days at his house. He in this time falling acquainted with these young boys, said one day unto them: Good boys, entreat your uncle to speak for us, that we may be made free citizens of Rome. Cæpio smiling nodded with his head, that he would. But Cato making no answer, looked very wisely upon the strangers

Sarpedon Cato's schoolmaister

The marvellous constancy of Cato when he was a child

that lay in the house. Then Pompædius taking him aside, asked him: And thou, my pretty boy, what sayest thou to it? Wilt thou not pray thine uncle as well as thy brother, to be good to his guests? Cato still held his peace and answered nothing, but shewed by his silence and look, that he would not hear their request. Then Pompædius taking him up in his arms, did put him out of the window, as if he would have let him have gone: and speaking more sharply to him than he did before, he cast him many times out of his arms without the window, and said, Promise us then, or else I will let thee fall. But Cato abid it a long time, and never quinched for it, nor shewed countenance of fear. Thereupon Pompædius setting him down again, told his friends that stood by him: O what good hap doth this child promise one day unto Italy, if he live? sure if he were a man, I believe we should not have one voice of all the people of our side. Another time, there were some of Cato's near kinsmen, that keeping the feast day of his birth, bade many young boys to supper, and amongst others this Cato. The boys to occupy themselves till supper was ready, gathered themselves together great and small, into some private place of the house. Their play was, counterfeiting pleadings before the judges, accusing one another, and carrying them that were condemned to prison. Amongst them, a goodly young boy was carried by a bigger boy into a little chamber, bound as a condemned person. The boy perceiving he was locked up, cried out unto Cato: who mistrusting what it was, went straight to the chamber door and putting them by

by force that withstood him to come unto it, he took out the young boy, and carried him very angrily with him to his own house, and all the other young boys followed him also. So Cato had such name among the young boys, that when Sulla made the game of young boys running a-horseback, which the Romans call Troia: to appoint them before that they might be ready at the day of the shew, he having gotten all the young boys of noble houses together, appointed them two captains. Of them, the boys took the one, because of his mother Metella, which was the wife of Sulla: but they would none of the other called Sextus, who was nephew to Pompey the Great, neither would they be exercised under him, nor follow him. Wherefore Sulla asked them, which of them they would have: they all cried then Cato, and Sextus himself did willingly give him the honour, as the worthier of both. Sulla was their father's friend, and therefore did send for them many times to come unto him, and he would talk with them: the which kindness he shewed to few men, for the majesty and great authority he had. Sarpedon also (Cato's schoolmaister) thinking it a great preferment and safety for his scholars, did commonly bring Cato unto Sulla's house, to wait upon him: the which was rather like unto a jail or prison, for the great number of prisoners which were daily brought thither, and put to death. Cato being then but fourteen years of age, and perceiving that there were many heads brought which were said to be of great men, and that everybody sighed and mourned to see them: he asked his schoolmaister, how it was possible the tyrant

Sulla's love unto Cato being but a boy

Cato's love to his brother

escaped, that some one or other killed him not? Because, quoth Sarpedon, that all men fear him, more than they hate him. Why then, replied Cato again, didst thou not give me a sword that I might kill him, to deliver my country of this slavery and bondage? Sarpedon hearing the boy say so, and seeing his countenance and eyes on fire with choler, he marvelled much at it, and afterwards had a very good eye unto him, lest rashly he should attempt something against Sulla. When he was but a little boy, some asked him whom he loved best? My brother, said he. Then the other continuing still to ask him, And who next: he answered likewise, his brother. Then the third time again, likewise his brother. Till at length he that asked him, was weary with asking him so oft. Yea and when he was come of age also, he then confirmed the love he bare to his brother in his deeds. For twenty years together he never supped without his brother Cæpio, neither went he ever out of his house into the market-place, nor into the fields without him: but when his brother did noint himself with sweet oils of perfume, he would none of that, and in all things else, he led a straight and hard life. So that his brother Cæpio being commended of every man for his temperance, honesty, and sober life: he granted indeed that in respect of others, he led a sober and temperate life: but when I do (said he) compare my life with my brother Cato's, me thinks then there is no difference betwixt me and Sippius. This Sippius was at that time noted and pointed at, for his fine and curious effeminate life. After that Cato was once chosen Apollo's priest, he went from his

brother, and took his portion of the goods of his father, which amounted to the sum of a hundred and twenty talents. Then he lived more hardly than he did before. For he fell in acquaintance with Antipater Tyrian, a Stoic philosopher, and gave himself chiefly unto the study of moral and civil philosophy, embracing all exercise of vertue with such an earnest desire, that it seemed he was pricked forward by some god: but above all other vertues, he loved the severity of justice, which he would not wrest for any gift nor favour. He studied also to be eloquent, that he might speak openly before the people, because he would there should be certain warlike forces entertained in civil philosophy, as also in a great city. Notwithstanding, he would not exercise it before anybody, neither would he ever have any man to hear him speak when he did learn to speak. For when one of his friends told him one day, that men did mislike he spake so little in company: It skilleth no matter, quoth he, so they cannot reprove my life, for I will begin to speak, when I can say something worthy to be spoken. Hard by the market-place there was the common palace or town house of the city, called Basilica Porcia, the which Porcius Cato the elder had built, in the time of his Censorship. There the Tribunes were wont to keep their audience: and because there was a pillar that troubled their seats, they would either have taken it away, or else have set it in some other place. That was the first cause that made Cato against his will to go into the market-place, and to get up into the pulpit for orations, to speak against them: where having given this first proof of his eloquence and noble mind, he

Cato's act for Basilica Porcia

Cato's exercises

was marvellously esteemed of. For his oration was not like a young man, counterfeiting fineness of speech and affectation, but stout, full of wit and vehemency: and yet in the shortness of his sentences, he had such an excellent grace withal, that he marvellously delighted the hearers: and furthermore, shewing in nature a certain gravity besides, it did so please them, that he made them laugh. He had a very full and audible voice that might be heard of a marvellous number of people, and such a strong nature besides, that he never fainted, nor brake his speech: for many times he would speak a whole day together, and was never weary. So when he had obtained his cause against the Tribunes, he returned again to keep his former great silence, and to harden his body with painful exercises, as to abide heat, frost, and snow bareheaded, and always to go afoot in the field, where his friends that did accompany him rode a-horseback, and sometime he would come and talk with one, sometime with another, as he went afoot by them. He had a wonderful patience also in his sickness. For when he had any ague, he would be alone all day long, and suffer no man to come and see him, until he perceived his fit was off him, and that he found he was better. When he supped with his friends and familiars, they drew lots who should choose their parts. If he chanced not to choose, his friends notwithstanding gave him the preferment to choose: but he refused it, saying It was no reason, sith the goddess Venus was against him. At the first he did not use to sit long at the table, but after he had drunk one draught only, he would straight rise. But when he came to be older, he sat long at the

table: so that oftentimes he would sit it out all night with his friends, till the next morning. But they seeking to excuse it, said, that his great business and affairs in the commonwealth was the cause of it. For following that all the day long, having no leisure nor time to study when night came, he delighted to talk with learned men, and philosophers, at the board. Wherefore when Memmius on a time being in company, said, That Cato did nothing but drink all night: Cicero taking his tale out of his mouth, answered him, Thou dost not add this unto it, that all the day he doth nothing but play at dice. To be short, Cato thinking that the manners and fashions of men's lives in his time were so corrupt, and required such great change and alteration: that to go uprightly, he was to take a contrary course in all things. For he saw that purple, red, and the lightest colours were best esteemed of: he in contrary manner desired to wear black. And many times also after dinner he would go abroad barefooted without shoes, and without any gown: not because he would be wondered at for any such strangeness, but to acquaint himself to be ashamed only of shameless and dishonest things, and to despise those which were not reproved but by men's opinions. Furthermore, land being left him to the value of an hundred talents by the death of a cousin of his, that likewise was called Cato: he put it all into ready money: to lend to his friends that lacked, and without usury. And there were some of his friends also that would mortgage his land, or his slaves, to the chamber of the city, for their own private business: the which he himself would either give them to mortgage, or else afterwards confirm

Cicero's saying of Cato

Cato's marriages

the mortgage of them. Furthermore, when he was come of age to marry, having never known woman before, he was made sure to Lepida. This Lepida had been precontracted unto Metellus Scipio: but afterwards the precontract being broken, he forsook her, so that she was free, when Cato was contracted to her. Notwithstanding, before Cato married her, Scipio repenting him that he had refused her, made all the means he could to have her again: and so he had. Cato took it so grievously, that he thought to go to law for her: but his friends dissuaded him from it. Then seeing no other remedy, to satisfy his angry mind, he wrote verses against Scipio, in the which he reviled him all he could: using the bitter taunts of Archilochus' verses, but not such impudent, lewd, and childish reproaches as be there. After that, he married Atilia, Soranus' daughter, being the first woman he ever knew: yet not the only woman whom he did know, as is reported of Lælius, Scipio's friend, who therein was counted the happier, because all that long time wherein he lived, he never knew other woman but his first wife. Furthermore, in the war of the bondmen (otherwise called Spartacus' war) one Gellius was chosen Prætor of the army under whom Cato served of his own good-will, for the love he bare unto his brother Cæpio, who in that army had charge of a thousand footmen. Now Cato could not as he wished, shew his valiantness and good service, because of the insufficiency of the Prætor that gave ill direction. This notwithstanding, in the midst of all the riot and insolency of them in the camp, he shewing himself a staid man in all his doings, valiant where need was, and

very wise also: all men esteemed him to be nothing inferior unto Cato the elder. Whereupon Gellius the Prætor gave him many honours in token of his valiantness, which are given in reward of men's good service: howbeit Cato refused them, and said, That he was nothing worthy of those honours. These things made him to be thought a marvellous strange man. Furthermore, when there was a law made, forbidding all men that sued for any office in the commonwealth, that they should have no prompters in any of the assemblies, to blow into their ears the names of private citizens: he alone making suit to be colonel of a thousand footmen, was obedient to the law, and committed all the private citizens' names to memory, to speak unto every one of them, and to call them by their names: so that he was envied even of them that did commend him. For, by how much they knew his deeds praiseworthy, by so much more were they grieved, for that they could not follow them. So Cato being chosen colonel of a thousand footmen, he was sent into Macedon, unto Rubrius, Prætor there. Some say, that at his departure from thence, his wife lamenting, and weeping to see him go: one Munatius a friend of his said unto her, Take no thought Atilia, and leave weeping, for I promise thee I will keep thy husband for thee. It is well said, answered Cato. Then when they were a day's journey from Rome, Cato after supper said unto this Munatius: Thou must look well to thy promise thou hast made Atilia, that thou wouldst keep me for her, and therefore forsake me not night nor day. Thereupon he commanded his men that from thenceforth they should prepare two beds in his chamber, that

Cato's soldier-fare

How Cato trained his men

Munatius also might lie there: who was rather pleasantly himself looked unto by Cato, than Cato by him. He had fifteen slaves with him, two freemen, and four of his friends, which rode, and he himself went afoot: sometime talking with one, otherwhile with another as he went. When he came to the camp, where there were many legions of the Romans, the Prætor immediately gave him charge of one of them: who thinking it small honour to him for himself only to be valiant, sith he was but one man, he practised to make all his soldiers under him, like unto himself. The which he did not by fear and terror, but by lenity and gentle persuasion, training and instructing them in every point what they should do: adding to his gentle instruction and persuasions, reward to those that did well, and punishment to them that offended. Whereby it was hard to judge, whether he had made them more quiet, than warlike: more valiant, than just. So dreadful they shewed themselves to their enemies, and courteous to their friends: fearful to do evil, and ready to win honour. Whereof followed that which Cato least accounted of, that is, he wan fame, and good-will: for his soldiers did greatly honour and love him, because he himself would ever first set his hand to anything he commanded them, and because also both in his diet, in his apparel, and in any journey or pains, he was rather like unto the meanest soldier, than any of the other captains. In contrary manner also, in good-nature, noble courage, and eloquence, he far exceeded all the other colonels and captains. For the true love of vertue, (to wit, the desire to follow

it) taketh no root in men's minds, unless they have a singular love and reverence unto the person, whom they desire to follow. When Cato understood that Athenodorus surnamed Cordylion, a Stoic philosopher, excellently well learned, dwelt at that time in the city of Pergamus, being a very old man, and one that stiffly refused the friendship of kings, princes, and noblemen, desirous to have him about them: to write to him, he thought it was but lost labour. Wherefore having two moneths' liberty by the laws of the Romans, to follow his own affairs: he took sea, and went into Asia to him, hoping he should not lose his journey, for the great vertues he knew in him. So when he had spoken with him, and talked of divers matters together: at length he brought him from his first determination, and carried him to the camp with him, esteeming this victory more, than all the conquests of Lucullus or Pompey, who had conquered the most part of all the provinces and realms of the east parts of the world. In the meantime, whilst he lay at his charge in the camp, being colonel of a thousand footmen: his brother preparing to go into Asia, fell sick in the city of Ænus, in the country of Thrace. Cato having speedy intelligence thereof, took sea presently, when it was marvellous rough and boisterous, and embarked in a little crayer of a merchant's of Thessaly, with two of his friends, and three bondmen only, and did escape drowning very narrowly: and yet by good fortune arrived safely, a little after his brother Cæpio's death. He took his death more sorrowfully, than became a philosopher, not only mourning and lamenting for him, embracing the dead corpse of his brother: but also for the

Athenodorus the Stoic, Cato's friend

Cato's mourning for his brother Cæpio's death

exceeding charge and sumptuous funerals, which he bestowed upon him, in perfumes, sweet savours, and sumptuous silks that were burnt with his body: and furthermore, in the stately tomb of Thracian marble which he made for him, and set up in the market-place of the Ænians, that cost eight talents. Some did mislike this vain charge that Cato bestowed, considering the modesty and temperance he used in all things else, not regarding with judgement his tender love and affection towards his kinsman, which was mingled in him with his severity and hardness, against all voluptuousness, fear, and shameless requests. Divers cities, princes and noblemen sent him many sundry presents, to honour the funerals of his brother Cæpio: howbeit he took no money of all them, saving only spices, and sweet savours, and such other ornaments, as honoured the obsequies of the dead, and yet paid for them, unto those that brought them, as much as they were worth. Furthermore, in the land that fell unto him, and a little daughter of his, by the death of his brother: notwithstanding the charge he had been at, in his funerals, he did not reckon it in the partition of the land, betwixt him and his brother Cæpio's daughter. All the which things when they were solemnised, some write notwithstanding, that he did cleanse the embers where his brother's body had been burnt, through a sieve or riddle, where through they cleanse corn, and all to get out the gold and silver that was molten there: but such think that their writings should be as far from controlment, as their doings. So when Cato's time of his charge was expired, they did accompany him at his departure, not only with ordinary praises, vows, and

prayers to the gods for his health: but with embracings, tears, and marvellous lamentations of the soldiers, which spread their garments on the ground as he went, and kissing of his hands, which honour the Romans did but to very few of their generals. Furthermore, Cato being determined before he returned to Rome to deal in the affairs there, to go and see Asia, partly to be an eye-witness of the manners, customs, and power of every province as he went: and partly also to satisfy King Deïotarus' request, who having been his father's friend, had earnestly entreated him to come and see him: he went the journey, and used it in this sort. First, by peep of day, he sent his baker and cook before, where he meant to lie that night. They coming soberly into the city or village, inquired if there were none of Cato's friends and acquaintance there, and if they found none, then they prepared his supper in an inn, and troubled no man: but if there were no inn, then they went to the governors of the town, and prayed them to help them to lodging, and did content themselves with the first that was offered them. Oftentimes the townsmen did not believe they were Cato's men, and made no accompt of them: because they took all things so quietly, and made no ado with the officers. Insomuch as Cato sometime came himself, and found nothing ready for him, and when he was come, they made as small account of him, seeing him sit upon his carriages, and speak never a word: for they took him for some mean man, and a timorous person. Notwithstanding, sometime he called them unto him, and told them. O poor men, learn to be more courteous to receive travelling Romans that pass by you, and look not

Cato's modesty

A laughing matter happened unto Cato

always to have Catos to come unto you: and therefore see that you use them with such curtesy and entertainment, that they may bridle the authority they have over you: for you shall find many that will desire no better colour nor occasion, by force to take from you that they would have: because you unwillingly also do grant them the things they would, and need. There is a report of a pretty jest happened him in Syria. When he came to Antioch, he found a great number of people divided on either side of the street, standing a-row one by another very decently: the young men by themselves in fair cloaks, boys by themselves in seemly array, and priests and other officers of the city also, all in white garments, crowned with garlands. Cato thought straight they had made this solemn procession to honour him, and fell out with his men he had sent before, because they did suffer them to make such preparation for his coming. So he made his friends light from their horses, and go afoot to accompany him. But when they came near to the gate of the city, the maister of these ceremonies that had assembled all that company (an old man, having a rod in his hand, and a crown on his head) came to Cato without saluting of him, and asked him only, where they had left Demetrius, and when he would come. This Demetrius had been one of Pompey's slaves, and because Pompey's fame was great with all men, his servant Demetrius also was much honoured and made of above his desert, for that he was in great credit with Pompey. Cato's friends hearing what question the old man asked him, burst out a-laughing as they went through this procession. Cato being

ashamed of it, said no more than: But, O unfortunate city. Afterwards notwithstanding, when he told it to anybody, he would laugh at it himself. So Pompey rebuked them, that through ignorance had failed to honour Cato. When Cato came to the city of Ephesus, and was coming towards Pompey to salute him, being the elder man, and of greater dignity and estimation than he, who at that time also was general of a great and puissant army: Pompey seeing him coming towards him afar off, would not tarry till he came to him, sitting in his chair of state, but rising up went to meet him, as one of the greatest and noblest persons of Rome, and taking him by the hand, after he had embraced and welcomed him, he presently fell in praise of his vertue before his face, and afterwards also commended him in his absence, when he was gone from him. Whereupon, every man after that had him in great veneration for those things, which before they despised in him, when they considered better of his noble and courteous mind. For men that saw Pompey's entertainment towards him, knew well enough that Cato was a man which he rather reverenced, and for a kind of duty observed, more than for any love he bare him: and they noted further, that he honoured him greatly while he was with him, but yet that he was glad when Cato went from him. For he sought to keep back all the young gentlemen of Rome that went to see him, and desired them to remain with him: but for Cato, he was nothing desirous of his company, for that in his presence he thought he could not command as he would, and therefore was willing to let him go, recommending his wife and his children

Cato honoured of Pompey in Asia

Cato's abstinence from gifts

to him, the which he never did before unto any other Roman that returned to Rome: howbeit indeed Cato was partly allied unto him. After that time, all the cities whereby he passed, devised (in emulation one of the other) which of them should honour him most, and made him great feasts and banquets: in the which he prayed his friends to have an eye to him, lest unwares he should prove Curio's words true. For Curio sometime being his friend, and a familiar of his, misliking notwithstanding his severity: asked Cato if he would go see Asia, when his charge were expired. Cato answered again, That it was his full determination. O well said, quoth Curio, I hope then thou wilt return more pleasant and civil. And these were Curio's words. Furthermore, Deïotarus King of Galatia, being a very old man, sent for Cato to come into his country to recommend his sons and house unto him: who, when he arrived there, had great rich presents of all sorts offered him by the king, entreating him all he could to take them. This so much misliked and angered Cato, that he coming thither in the evening, (after he had tarried there one whole day only) the next morning he went his way from thence at the third hour. Howbeit he had not gone one day's journey, but he found greater gifts that tarried him, with Deïotarus' letters, at the city of Pessinus: in the which he instantly requested him to take them, or at the least if he would refuse them himself, that then he would let them be divided amongst his friends, sith every way they did deserve it, but specially for his sake, for that his goods also were not so great, as could content all his friends.

But Cato would not suffer them to take any jot of it more than before, although he saw well enough that there were some of them so tender-hearted, that they complained of him, for that he would not suffer them to take any of it. For he told them, that otherwise, corruption and bribery could lack no honest colour to take: and for his friends, they should always have part with him of that which was his own justly. So he returned King Deïotarus' presents back again. Now when he was ready to embark, to pass over the sea again unto Brundusium: some of his friends persuaded him, that it was better to put the ashes of his brother Cæpio's bones into another ship. But he answered them, That he would rather lose his own life, than to leave his brother's relics. Thereupon he presently hoised sail, and it is reported that he passed over in great danger, where other ships arrived very safely. When he was returned unto Rome, he was always either talking philosophy with Athenodorus the Philosopher, or else in the market-place to pleasure his friends. When his turn came that he was to make suit to be Quæstor, he would never sue for it, before he had first diligently perused all the ordinances touching the office of Quæstor, and that he had particularly made inquiry of men of greatest experience to know what the authority of the office was. So, he no sooner came to his office, but he presently made great alteration amongst the clerks and officers of the treasury: who having the laws and records in their hands, and exercising the office commonly under young men which were chosen treasurers (who for their ignorance and lack of experience,

Cato made Quæstor

Cato's reforms

stood rather in need of maisters to teach them, than that they were able to correct others) they themselves were the officers, and controlled them. But Cato not contenting himself with the name and honour of the thing, did throughly understand what the clerks and registers should be, and therefore would have them to be as they ought to be, ministers under the Quæstors only, telling them of their bribery and corruption which they committed, and reformed them also, that faulted through ignorance. And when he saw some insolent and impudent persons, that curried favour with other treasurers to be against him: he caused the chiefest of them to be condemned for falsehood, in making division betwixt two coheirs, and consequently turned him clear out of his office, for ever doing anything there any more. He accused another also for forging of a will, whom Catulus Lutatius defending, being then Censor, and a man of great honour for the dignity of his office, but chiefly for his vertue, being counted the justest man of them in his time at Rome, and one of those also that highly commended Cato, and was conversant with him for his honest life: when he perceived that he could not defend his man by no reason, he prayed them at his request that they would pardon him. But Cato would in no wise grant it. But Catulus earnestly entreating still for him, then Cato plainly said unto him: It is shame for thee (Catulus) thou that art Censor, and shouldst reform all our lives, thus to forget the duty of thine office, to please our ministers. Catulus looking at Cato when he had spoken, as though he would answer him: whether it were for shame, or anger, he went his

way, and said never a word more. Yet was not the party condemned, though there was one voice more that did condemn than clear him, because of the absence of one of the judges. For Marcus Lollius, one of Catulus' colleagues in the Quæstorship, being sick at that time, and absent, Catulus sent unto him, to pray him to come and help the poor man. Thereupon Lollius being brought thither in a litter after judgement given, gave his last voice, which absolutely cleared him. Cato, this notwithstanding, would never use him as a clerk, nor pay him his wages, nor would count of Lollius' voice among others. Thus having pulled down the pride and stomach of these clerks, and brought them unto reason: in short time he had all the tables and records at his commandment, and made the treasure-chamber as honourable, as the Senate it self: so that every man thought, and said, that Cato had added unto the Quæstorship the dignity of the Consulship. For finding divers men indebted before unto the commonwealth, and the commonwealth also unto divers men: he set down such an order, that neither the commonwealth should be deceived by any man, nor that any man also should have wrong of it. For being rough with them that were indebted to the chamber, he compelled them to pay their debt, and willingly and quickly also paid them to whom the chamber ought anything: so that the people were ashamed to see some pay which never thought to have paid anything, and on the contrary side also others paid, which never looked to have had any part of their debts paid them. Furthermore, divers men did before make false bills of their debts, and brought

Cato made the Quæstorship of great dignity

Cato was revenged of Sulla's bloody murther

them so to be put into the coffer of the Quæstors: and many times also his predecessors were wont of favour and friendship to receive false messages. For whilst he was Quæstor, he never did pass away matters so lightly. For one day, he being doubtful of a message that was sent unto him, to know whether it was true or no: albeit divers men did witness it was true, yet would he not believe it, until such time as the Consuls themselves came in their own persons to justify it was true, and to swear, that it was so ordained. Now there were many unto whom Lucius Sulla being Dictator, had appointed in his second proscription twelve thousand silver drachmas for every citizen and outlaw which they had slain with their own hands. These men, though every man did hate them, and knew them to be wicked people and cruel murderers: yet no man durst offer to be revenged of them. Cato called these men in suit, as those that did wrongfully detain the money of the common treasure, and compelled them to repay it back again: sharply reproving (and justly) the wicked divelish fact they had committed. So when they had repaid the money, they were straight accused by others for murder: and as if they had been wrongfully condemned by one judgement, they were brought into another, to the great joy of all the Romans, who then thought they saw all the tyranny of that time rooted out, and Sulla himself punished. Besides all this, Cato's continual pains and care of the treasure, was so well thought of, and liked of the people as could be. For he was always the first that came to the coffer of the treasurers, and also the last that went from thence, and was

never weary of any pains. Furthermore, he never missed to be at any assembly of the people or Senate, fearing, and being always careful, lest lightly by favour, any money due to the commonwealth should be forgiven: or else that they should abate the rent of the farmers, or that they should give no money but to them that had justly deserved it. Thus having rid all accusers, and also filled the coffers with treasure: he made men see, that the commonwealth might be rich, without oppressing of any man. Indeed at his first coming into the office, his colleagues and companions found him marvellous troublesome and tedious, for that they thought him too rough and severe: howbeit they all loved him in the end, because he only withstood the complaints and cries of all men against them (which complained that they would not for any man's respect or favour let go the money of the common treasure) and was contented his companions should excuse themselves unto their friends that were importunate, and lay the fault upon him, saying, That it was unpossible for them to bring Cato unto it. The last day that he went out of his office, being very honourably brought home to his house by the people: it was told him that Marcellus, being in the treasure-chamber, was attempted and environed with many of his friends, and men of great authority, that were earnestly in hand with him to record a certain gift of money, as a thing that had been due by the commonwealth. This Marcellus had been Cato's friend even from their childhood, and whilst Cato was in office, he did orderly execute his office with him: but when he was left

Cato's care and integrity

to the commonwealth

alone, he was of so gentle a nature, that he would easily be entreated, and was as much ashamed to deny any man, as he was also over-ready to grant every man that he required. Cato straight returned back upon it, and finding that Marcellus had yielded unto their importunacy, and recorded the gift: he caused the books to be brought unto him, and did raze it out before his face, Marcellus speaking never a word to the contrary. After that, Marcellus brought Cato home, and never once repined against that he had done, neither then, nor at any time after, but continued still friendship with him, as he had done before. But now, though Cato was out of his office of Quæstor, he was not without spials of his men in the treasure-chamber: who marked always, and wrote what was done and passed in the treasury. And Cato himself having bought the books of account for the sum of five talents containing the revenue of the whole state of the commonwealth, from Sulla's time until the very year of his Quæstorship: he ever had them about him, and was the first man that came to the Senate and the last that went out of it. There many times the Senators tarrying long before they came, he went and sat down in a corner by himself, and read closely the book he had under his gown, clapping his gown before it, and would never be out of the city on that day when he knew the Senate should assemble. After that, Pompey and his consorts perceiving that it was unpossible to compel Cato, and much less to win or corrupt him, to favour their unjust doings, they sought what means they could to keep him from coming to the Senate, and defend-

ing certain of his friends' causes, and to occupy him some other ways about matters of arbiterment. But Cato finding their wiles and craft, to encounter them, he told his friends once for all, whom he would pleasure: that when the Senate did sit, no man's cause could make him be absent from thence. For he came not to serve the commonwealth to enrich himself as many did, neither for any glory or reputation, nor yet at all adventure: but that he had advisedly chosen to serve the commonwealth, like a just and honest man, and therefore thought himself bound to be as careful of his duty, as the bee working her wax in the honeycomb. For this respect therefore, to perform his duty the better, by the means of his friends which he had in every province belonging to the Empire of Rome: he got into his hands the copies of all the chiefest acts, edicts, decrees, sentences, and the notablest judgements of the governors that remained in record. Once Cato perceiving that Publius Clodius a seditious orator amongst the people, did make great stir, and accused divers unto the assembly, as the priests and vestal nuns: among the which Fabia Terentia, Cicero's wife's sister was accused, he taking their cause in hand, did so disgrace Clodius their accuser, that he was driven to flee the city. Cicero therefore giving Cato thanks, Cato told him, that he must thank the commonwealth, not him, for whose sake only he both said and did that he had done. Hereby Cato wan him great fame. For when a certain orator or common counsellor preferred one witness unto the judges, the counsellor on the other side told them, That one witness was not to be credited,

Cato's mind and determination

to take charge in the common-wealth

though it were Cato himself. Insomuch as the people took it up for a proverb among them, that when any man spake any strange and unlikely matter, they would say: Nay, though Cato himself said it, yet were it not to be believed. When on a time a certain prodigal man had made a long oration in the Senate, in praise and commendation of sobriety, temperance, and thriftiness: one Amnæus a Senator rising up, said unto him, Alas, friend, what thinkest thou? who can abide to hear thee any longer with patience: that farest at thy table like Crassus, buildest like Luculus, and speakest to us like Cato? So men commonly (in sport) called them Catos, which were grave and severe in their words, and dissolute in their deeds. When divers of his friends were in hand with him to sue to be Tribune of the people, he told them he thought it not meet at that time: For such an office (quoth he) of great authority as that, is not to be employed, but like a strong medicine in time of need. So, the term and matters of law ceasing for that time, Cato went into the country of Luca to take his pleasure there, where he had pleasant houses: and took with him both his books and philosophers to keep him company. Because, meeting as he went, with divers sumpters and great carriage, and a great train of men besides, he asked them whose carriage it was: they told him it was Metellus Nepos that returned to Rome, to make suit to be Tribune. Thereupon Cato stayed suddenly, and bethinking himself, commanded his men to return back again. His friends marvelling at it, he answered them: Do not you know that Metellus is to be feared of himself, for

his rashness and folly? and now that he cometh instructed by Pompey, like a lightning he would set all the commonwealth afire? for this cause therefore, we must not now go take our pleasure in the country, but overcome his folly, or otherwise die honourably in defence of our liberty. Yet at his friends persuasions, he went first unto his house in the country, but tarried not long there, and returned straight again to Rome. When he came thither overnight, the next morning betimes he went into the market-place, and sued to the Tribune of the people, purposely to cross Metellus' enterprise, because the power and authority of the Tribune consisteth more in hindering, than doing anything: for if all men else were agreed of a matter, and that he only were against it, the Tribune would carry it from them all. Cato at the first had not many of his friends about him, but when they heard of his intent, why he made suit for the Tribuneship all his friends and noblemen straight took part with him, confirmed his determination, and encouraged him to go on withal, for that he did it rather to serve the commonwealth, than his own turn, considering, that where many times before he might (without resistance or denial) have obtained the same, the state being toward no trouble, he then would never sue for it, but now that he saw it in danger, where he was to fight for the commonwealth, and the protection of her liberty. It is reported that there was such a number of people about him to favour his suit, that he was like to have been stifled among them, and thought he should never have come to the market-place, for the press of people that swarmed about him. Thus

The office and authority of the Tribune

Cato's Tribuneship

when he was chosen Tribune with Metellus and others, he perceived how they bought and sold the voices of the people when the Consuls were chosen: whereupon he made an oration, and sharply took them up for this detestable marchandise, and after his oration ended, solemnly protested by oath: That he would accuse him, and bewray his name, which had given money to be chosen Consul. Howbeit he spake nothing of Silanus, whose sister, Servilia, he had married: but he flatly accused Lucius Murena, that had obtained to be Consul with Silanus, by means of his money. Now a law being provided, that the party accused might have a keeper or spy to follow the accuser, to see what he would accuse the party with, that he might the better be able to defend himself, knowing what should be objected against him: Murena having one for him to wait upon Cato, to consider throughly what course he took, when he saw that he went not maliciously to work, but took a plain common way of a just accuser: he had so great confidence in Cato's upright mind and integrity, that not regarding the narrow sifting of him otherwise, he did one day ask him himself in the market-place, (or at home in his own house) if that day he were determined to prosecute any matter against him touching his accusation. If Cato answered him that he did not: then he went his way and simply believed him. When the day came indeed that his cause was to be heard, and pleaded unto: Cicero being Consul that year, defending Murena, played so pleasantly with the Stoic philosophers, and their strange opinions, that he made all the judges laugh: insomuch as Cato

himself smiling at him, told them that were by him: See, we have a pleasant Consul that makes men laugh thus. So Murena being discharged by this judgement, did never after malice Cato for that, but so long as he remained Consul, he was always ruled by his counsel in all his affairs, and continued ever to honour him, following his counsel in all things touching his office. Hereof Cato himself was cause, who was never rough nor terrible, but in matters of counsel, and in his orations before the people, for the maintenance only of equity and justice: for otherwise, he was very civil and courteous to all men. But before he entered into his Tribuneship, Cicero being yet Consul, he did help him in many things touching his office, but specially, in bringing Catiline's conspiracy to good end, which was a noble act done of him. For Catiline did practise a general commotion and stir in the commonwealth, to overthrow the whole state of Rome, by civil discord within Rome, and open wars abroad: who being discovered and overcome by Cicero, he was driven in the end to fly Rome. But Lentulus, Cethegus, and many other of the accomplices of this conspiracy, blamed Catiline for his faint and cowardly proceeding in it. For their parts, they had determined to burn the whole city of Rome, and to put all the empire thereof in uproar, by strange wars, and rebellions of foreign nations and provinces. Howbeit this treason being discovered, as appeareth more largely in the life of Cicero, the matter was referred unto the judgement of the Senate, to determine what was to be done therein. Silanus being the first who was asked his opinion therein, said, That he thought it

The conspiracy of Catiline

Cato's oration against Cæsar

good they should suffer cruel pains: and after him also, all the rest said the like, until it came to Cæsar. Cæsar being an excellent spoken man, and that rather desired to nourish than to quench any such stirs or seditions in the commonwealth, being fit for his purpose long determined of: made an oration full of sweet pleasant words, declaring unto them, That to put such men as them to death without lawful condemnation, he thought it altogether unreasonable, and rather that they should do better to keep them in prison. This oration of Cæsar so altered all the rest of the Senators' minds, for that they were afraid of the people: that Silanus self mended his opinion again, and said, That he meant not they should put them to death, but keep them fast in prison, because that to be a prisoner, was the greatest pain a Roman citizen could abide. Thus, the Senators' minds being so suddenly changed, and bent to a more favourable sentence: Cato rising up to say his opinion, began very angrily with marvellous eloquence, grievously to reprove Silanus for changing his mind, and sharply to take up Cæsar, that under a popular semblance, and mask of sweet-sugared words, he sought underhand to destroy the commonwealth, and also to terrify and make the Senate afraid: "Where he himself should have been afraid, and think himself happy, if he could escape from being suspected, giving such apparent cause of suspicion as he did, going about so openly to take the enemies and traitors of the commonwealth out of the hands of justice, seeming to have no pity nor compassion of his natural city, of such nobility and fame, being even brought in manner to utter destruction, but

rather to lament the fortune of these wicked men, that it was pity they were ever born, and whose death preserved Rome from a thousand murthers and mischiefs." Of all the orations that ever Cato made, that only was kept: for Cicero the Consul, that day had dispersed divers penmen in sundry places of the Senate-house, which had marvellous swift hands, and had further taught them how to make brief notes and abridgments, which in few lines shewed many words. For until that time, writers were not known that could by figures and ciphers express a whole sentence and word, as afterwards they could: being then the first time that ever they were found out. So Cato at that time prevailed against Cæsar, and made them all change their minds again, that these men were put to death. But that we may not leave out a jot of his manners, as the very pattern and impression of his mind: it is reported, that when Cato that day was so hot, and vehement against Cæsar, that all the Senate could but look at them, to hear them both: a letter was delivered Cæsar, sent him into the house. Cato began presently to suspect it, and so earnestly misliked of it, that many of the Senators being offended, commanded his letter should be seen and read openly. Cæsar thereupon reached his letter unto Cato, that sate not far from him. When Cato had read it, and found that it was a love-letter which his sister Servilia had written unto Cæsar, whom she loved, and had known: he cast it again to Cæsar, and said, There, drunkard. After that he went on again with his matter, which he had begun before. In fine, it seemeth that Cato was very unfortunate

Cicero taught them how to write briefly by notes

Cato unfortunate in his wives

in his wives: for this Servilia, as we have said, had an ill name by Cæsar. And the other Servilia also, which was his sister, was worse defamed. For she being married unto Lucullus, one of the greatest men of Rome, by whom she had a son, was in the end put away from him, for her naughty life. But worst of all, his own wife Attilia also was not altogether clear without suspicion. For though he had two sons by her, yet he was driven to be divorced from her, she was so naught and common. After that, he married Marcia, the daughter of Philip, which by report seemed to be a very honest gentlewoman. It is she that is so famous among the Romans. For in the life of Cato, this place (as a fable or comedy) is disputable, and hard to be judged. For thus it was, as Thrasea writeth: who refereth all to the report and credit of one Munatius, Cato's very familiar friend. Among many that loved Cato's vertues, and had them in admiration, some of them did shew him more what he was, than other some did: amongst the which, was Q. Hortensius, a man of great honesty and authority. He, desiring not only to be Cato's friend and familiar, but also to join with him in alliance, and by affinity to make both their houses one: was not abashed to move him, to let him have his daughter Porcia in marriage, (which was Bibulus' wife, and had brought him two children) that he might also cast abroad the seed of goodly children, in that pleasant fertile ground. And though to men this might seem a strange mind and desire, yet that in respect of nature, it was both honest and profitable to the commonwealth, not to suffer a young woman in

the prime of her youth, to lose the fruit of her womb, being apt to bear children: nor also that he should impoverish his son-in-law with more children, than one house needed. And further, that communicating women in this sort from one to another, specially being bestowed upon worthy and vertuous men: that vertue should thereby be increased the more, being so dispersed in divers families, and the city likewise should be the stronger, by making alliances in this sort together. And if it be so, quoth he, that Bibulus do love his wife so dearly, that he will not depart from her altogether, then that he would restore her to him again, when he had a child by her, that thereby he might be the more bound in friendship to him, by means of this communication of children with Bibulus self, and with him. Cato answered him, That he loved Hortensius well, and liked of his alliance, howbeit that he marvelled he would speak to him to let him have his daughter to get children of, sith he knew that she was married to another. Then Hortensius altering his tale, stuck not to tell him his mind plainly, and to desire his wife of him, the which was yet a young woman, and Cato had children enough. But a man cannot tell whether Hortensius made this suit, because he saw Cato make no reckoning of Marcia, for that she was then with child by him. In fine, Cato seeing the earnest desire of Hortensius, he did not deny him her, but told him, that he must also get Philip's good-will, the father of Marcia. He knowing that Cato had granted his good-will, would not therefore let him have his daughter, before that Cato himself by his presence did con-

An exchange of wives

Cato persuaded corn to be distributed

firm the contract and marriage with him. Though these things were done long after, yet having occasion to talk of Cato's wives, I thought it not amiss to anticipate the time. Now Lentulus, and his consorts of Catiline's conspiracy being put to death: Cæsar, to cloak the accusations wherewith Cato charged him in open Senate, did put himself into the people's hands, and gathering the rakehells and seditious persons together, which sought to set all at six and seven, he did further encourage them in their mischievous intent and practices. Whereupon, Cato fearing lest such a rabble of people should put all the commonwealth in uproar and danger: he persuaded the Senate to win the poor needy people that had nothing, by distributing of corn amongst them, the which was done: for the charge thereof amounted yearly unto twelve hundred and fifty talents. This liberality did manifestly drink up and quench all those troubles which they stood in fear of. But on the other side, Metellus entring into his Tribuneship, made certain seditious orations and assemblies, and preferred a law to the people, that Pompey the Great should presently be called into Italy with his army, that he should keep the city by his coming, from the present danger of Catiline's conspiracy. These were but words spoken for fashion's sake, but indeed the law had a secret meaning, to put the whole commonwealth and empire of Rome into Pompey's hands. Hereupon the Senate assembled, wherein Cato at his first coming, spake somewhat gently, and not too vehemently against Metellus, as his manner was to be sharp unto them that were against him: but modestly persuaded him, and fell

to entreat him in the end, and highly to extol his house, for that they had always taken part with the Senate and nobility. But Metellus therewith took such pride and conceit of himself, that he began to despise Cato, thinking he had used that mildness, as though he had been afraid of him: insomuch as he gave out proud speeches against him, and cruel threats, that in despite of the Senate he would do that which he had undertaken. Then Cato changing his countenance, his voice and speech, after he had spoken very sharply against him: in the end he roughly protested, that while he lived, he would never suffer Pompey to come into Rome with his army. The Senate hearing them both, thought neither of both well in their wits, but that Metellus' doings was a fury, which proceeding of a cankered stomach and extreme malice, would put all in hazard: and that which Cato did, was a ravishment and extasy of his vertue, that made him beside himself, contending for justice and equity. When the day came that this law should pass by voices of the people, Metellus failed not to be in the market-place with a world of strangers, slaves, and fencers, armed, and set in battell ray, besides a number of the common people that were desirous to see Pompey's return, hoping after change. Besides all those, Cæsar then being Prætor, gave aid likewise with his men, in the behalf of Metellus. On the contrary part also, the noblemen and Senators of the city were as angry as Cato, and said it was a horrible shame; howbeit they were his friends, rather in misliking the matter, than in defending the commonwealth. Whereupon, all his friends at home, and his whole

Cato resisteth Metellus

Cato's noble courage and constancy

family, were marvellously perplexed and sorrowful, that they both refused their meat, and also could take no rest in the night for fear of Cato. But he, as one without fear, having a good heart with him, did comfort his people, and bade them not sorrow for him: and after he had supped, as he commonly used to do, he went to bed, and slept soundly all night, till the morning that Minucius Thermus, his colleague and fellow Tribune, came and called him. So they both went together into the market-place, accompanied with a very few after them: whereupon divers of their friends came and met them by the way, and bade them take heed unto themselves. When they were come into the market-place, and that Cato saw the temple of Castor and Pollux full of armed men, and the degrees or steps kept by sword-players and fencers, and Metellus on the top of them set by Cæsar: turning to his friends he said, See I pray you the coward there, what a number of armed men he hath gotten together, against one man naked, and unarmed. Therewithal he straight went forward with his companion Thermus unto that place, and they that kept the degrees, opened of themselves to let him pass, but they would let no other go up but himself: but Cato with much ado, taking Minucius by the hand, got him up with him, and when he was come up, he sat him down betwixt Metellus and Cæsar, to keep them asunder, that they should not whisper one in another's ear. Neither of them both could tell what to say to him. Whereupon the noblemen that considered Cato's countenance and boldness, wondring to see it, drew near and by their cries willed him not to be afraid, but encouraged one

another to stick by him, that stood for defence of their liberty. So, there was a servant that took the written law in his hand, and would have read it to the people: but Cato would not let him. Then Metellus took it himself in his hands to read it: but Cato also snatched it out of his hands. Metellus notwithstanding, having it perfect without book, would needs declare the effect of it by heart. But Thermus clapped his hand before his mouth to keep him that he should not speak. Metellus seeing these two men bent by all means to keep this law from passing, and that the people did lean on their side: he beckoned to his men to go for the armed men which were at home in his house, that they should come with terror and cries to make them afraid, and so they did. The people thereupon were dispersed here and there for fear, that Cato was left alone in the market-place, and they threw stones at him from beneath. But then Murena, who had before accused Cato for buying of the Consulship, forsook him not in that danger, but holding his long gown before him, cried out unto them beneath, that threw at Cato, to leave. So shewing him the danger he had brought himself unto, holding him still by the arms, he brought him into the temple of Castor and Pollux. Then Metellus seeing the pulpit for orations voided, and his enemies flying out of the market-place, he thought he had won the goal: whereupon commanding his soldiers to depart, then proceeding gently, he attempted to pass his law. But his enemies that fled for fear, being gathered again together in the market-place, began afresh to cry out against Metellus, with greater boldness and

A riot

in the forum

courage than before. Then Metellus and his adherents being affraid and amazed, doubting that their enemies had gotten weapons, and were provided, and therefore were the bolder: they fled, and all of them left the pulpit for orations. So when Metellus and his company were gone, Cato came again to the pulpit for orations, and greatly commended the people for the good-will they had shewed, and persuaded them to continue in their well-doing. Whereupon the common people were then against Metellus, and the Senate also being assembled gave order, that Cato should have better aid than he had before, and that by all means possible they should resist Metellus' law, which only tended to move sedition and civil war in Rome. For Metellus self, he was yet vehemently bent to follow his attempt and enterprise: but perceiving that his friends were marvellously afraid of Cato, as a man whom they thought invincible, he suddenly came into the market-place, and assembling the people, told them many reasons in his oration, supposing to bring Cato in disgrace with the people, and amongst other things he said, that he would withdraw himself out of this tyrannical power of Cato's, and his conspiracy against Pompey, the which peradventure the city before it were long, should repent, for that they had shamed and defaced so noble a man. After that, he presently departed Rome, and went into Asia to inform Pompey of all this matter. Cato on the other side was greatly esteemed for his doings, for that he had freed the commonwealth from the great trouble of such a foolish Tribune and by overthrowing Metellus, he had also suppressed the power of Pompey. But he was y

much more commended, when he was against the Senate, who would have noted Metellus of infamy, and deprived him of his office, the which he would not suffer them to do. The common people thought him of a courteous and gentle nature, because he would not tread his enemy under his foot, when he had the upper hand of him, nor be revenged of him when he had overcome him: but wise men judged it otherwise, that it was wisely done of him not to provoke Pompey. About this time returned Lucullus from the war, of the which it seemed that Pompey had taken the honour and glory from him for the ending of it, and was likely also to have been put from his honour of triumph, for that Caius Memmius was his adversary, who laid many accusations against him before the people, rather to please Pompey, than for any malice else he had towards him. But Cato, both for that Lucullus was his brother-in-law, and had married his own sister Servilia, as also for that he saw they did him wrong: resisted this Memmius, and defended many accusations against him. So that in the end, though Memmius had laboured that Cato should be deprived of his office, as from a tyrannical power: yet Cato compelled Memmius at the last to leave off his accusations, and to prosecute law no more against him. Thus Lucullus having obtained honour of triumph, did embrace Cato's friendship more than before, taking him for a sure bulwark and defence against the power of Pompey the Great. But Pompey shortly after returning home again, with great honour from his conquests, trusting that for respect of his welcome he should be denied nothing at the people's hands when he came home: sent

Cato's doings for Lucullus

Cato resisteth Pompey

before unto the Senate, to pray them for his sake to defer the election of the Consuls, until he came to Rome, that being present he might favour Piso's suit, suing to be Consul. Thereunto the most part of the Senate gave their consent, but Cato on the other side was against it, not that the deferring of time was a matter of such importance, but to cut all hope from Pompey to go about to attempt any new devices, insomuch that he made the Senate change opinion again, and Pompey's request was denied. Pompey being marvellously troubled withal, and perceiving that Cato would be against him in all things if he found not some device to win him: he sent for his friend Munatius, by his means to demand Cato's two nieces of him which were marriageable: the eldest for himself, and the youngest for his son. Other say also that they were not his nieces, but his own daughters. Munatius did Pompey's message, and brake the matter unto him, his wife, and to his sisters, who marvellously desired Pompey's alliance, for the greatness and dignity of his person. But Cato making no further delay, without other deliberation, as not greatly pleased with the motion, answered him presently: Munatius, go thy way unto Pompey again, and tell him that Cato is not to be won by women, though otherwise I mislike not of his friendship: and withal, that so long as he shall deal uprightly in all causes, and none otherwise, that he shall find him more assuredly his friend, than by any alliance of marriage: and yet, that to satisfy Pompey's pleasure and will against his country, he will never give him such pledges. The women and his friends at that time were angry with his answer and refusal, saying,

It was too stately and uncourteous. But afterwards it chanced, that Pompey suing to have one of his friends made Consul, he sent a great sum of money to bribe the voices of the people, which liberality was noted, and spoken of, because the money was told in Pompey's own garden. Then did Cato tell the women of his house, That if he had now been bound by alliance of marriage unto Pompey, he should then have been driven to have been partaker of Pompey's shameful acts. When they heard what he had told them, they all confessed then that he was wiser to refuse such alliance, than they were that wished and desired it. And yet, if men should judge of wisdom, by the success and event of things: I must needs say, that Cato was in great fault for refusing of this alliance. For thereby he was the cause of Pompey's matching with Cæsar, who joining both their powers together, was the whole destruction of the empire of Rome: whereas peradventure it had not fallen out so, if Cato fearing Pompey's light faults, had not caused him by increasing his power with another, to commit far greater faults. Howbeit those things were yet to come. Furthermore, Pompey being at jar with Lucullus, touching certain ordinances which he had made in the realm of Pontus, because both the one and the other would have their ordinances to take place: Cato favoured Lucullus, who had open wrong. Pompey therefore seeing that he was the weaker in the Senate, took part with the people, and put forth the law for dividing of the lands amongst the soldiers. But Cato stoutly resisting that law again, he put it by, and made Pompey thereby in a rage to acquaint himself with Publius

Cato refuseth alliance with Pompey

The alliance betwixt Cæsar and Pompey

Clodius, the most seditious and boldest person of all the Tribunes, and besides that, made alliance even at that time with Cæsar, whereof Cato himself was the only author. Cæsar returning out of Spain from his Prætorship, required the honour of triumph, and withal made suit to be Consul. But being a law to the contrary, that they that sued to be Consuls should be present themselves in the city, and such also as desired honour of triumph, should be without the city: he earnestly required the Senate, that he might sue for the Consulship by his friends. The most part of the Senate were willing unto it, but Cato was flatly against it. He perceiving that the other Senators were willing to gratify Cæsar, when it came to him to deliver his opinion, he spent all the whole day in his oration, and by this policy prevented the Senate, that they could not conclude anything. Then Cæsar letting fall his triumph, made sure to be Consul, and entering the city, joined friendship with Pompey. Hereupon he was chosen Consul, and immediately after married his daughter Julia unto Pompey: and so having made in manner a conspiracy against the commonwealth between themselves, Cæsar preferred the law *agraria*, for distributing the lands unto the citizens, and Pompey was present to maintain the publication thereof. Lucullus and Cicero on the other side taking part with Bibulus the other Consul, did what they could against it, but specially Cato: who fearing much this alliance of Cæsar and Pompey, that it was a pact and conspiracy to overthrow the commonwealth, said, That he cared not so much for this law agraria, as he feared the reward they looked for, who by such means did entice and

please the common people. Therewithal, the Senate were wholly of his opinion, and so were many other honest men of the people besides, that were none of the Senate, and took his part: marvelling much, and also being offended with Cæsar's great unreasonableness and importunity, who by the authority of his Consulship did prefer such things, as the most seditiousest Tribunes of the people were wont commonly to do, to curry favour with the people, and by such vile means sought to make them at his commandment. Wherefore, Cæsar and his friends fearing so great enemies, fell to open force. For to begin withal, as the Consul Bibulus was going to the market-place, there was a basket of dung poured upon his head: and furthermore, the officers' rods were broken in their hands, which they carried before him. In fine, darts were thrown at them out of every corner, and many of them being hurt, they all at length were driven to fly, and leave the market-place. But Cato, he came last of all, keeping his wonted pace, and often cast back his head, and cursed such citizens. So, they did not only pass this law agraria by voices of the people, but furthermore they added to it: that the Senate should be sworn to establish that law, and be bound to defend the same, (if any attempted the alteration thereof) upon great penalties and fines to be set on his head, that should refuse the oath. All the other Senators sware against their wills, remembering the example of the mischief that chanced unto the old Metullus, who was banished out of Italy, because he would not swear to such a like law. Whereupon, the women that were in Cato's house, besought him with the tears in their

Cicero by his oration

brake Cato's stiffness

eyes, that he would yield and take the oath: and so did also divers of his friends besides. Howbeit, he that most enforced and brought Cato to swear, was Cicero the Orator: who persuaded him, that peradventure he would be thought unreasonable, that being but one man, he should seem to mislike that, which all other had thought meet and reasonable: and that it were a fond part of him wilfully to put himself in so great danger, thinking to hinder a matter already past remedy. But yet that besides all this, a greater inconvenience would happen, if he forsook his country (for whose sake he did all these things) and left it a prey unto them, which sought the utter subversion of the same, as if he were glad to be rid from the trouble of defending the commonwealth. For (said he) though Cato have no need of Rome, yet Rome hath need of Cato, and so have all his friends: of the which, Cicero said he was the chief, and was most maliced of Publius Clodius the Tribune, who sought to drive him out of the country. It is said that Cato being won by these like words and persuasions at home, and openly in the market-place, they so softened him, that he came to take his oath last of all men, but one Favonius, a very friend of his. Cæsar's heart being then lift up, for that he had brought his first purpose to pass: began now to prefer another law, to divide all Campania, and the country called Terra di Lavoro, (the land of labour) unto the poor needy people of Rome, and no man stood against him but Cato. Whereupon Cæsar made his officers to take him from the pulpit for orations, to carry him to prison. All this made not Cato stoop, nor leave his frank speech, but as

he went he still spake against this edict, and persuaded the people to beware of them that preferred such laws. All the Senate, and the best sort of citizens followed Cato with heavy hearts, shewing by their silence that they were offended and angry for the injury they did unto him, being so worthy a man. Insomuch as Cæsar's self perceived that the people were offended with it, and yet of ambition and stomack, he looked always when Cato would have appealed unto the people. So when he saw that Cato meant no such matter, at length overcome with shame and dishonour, he himself procured one of the Tribunes to take Cato from the sergeants. In fine, all Cæsar's practice tended to this end, that when he had won the people's favour by such laws: they should then grant him the government of all the Gauls, (as well on this side, as beyond the mountains) and all Illyria, with an army of four legions, for the space of five years, notwithstanding that Cato told the people before, that they themselves with their own voices did set up a tyrant, that one day would cut their throats. They did also chose Publius Clodius Tribune of the people, which was of a noble house: a thing directly contrary to the law. But this Clodius had promised them, so that they would help him to banish Cicero out of Rome, to do all that he could for them. Furthermore, they made Calpurnius Piso (Cæsar's wife's father) and Gabinius Paulus, (a man wholly at Pompey's commandment, as they write which knew his life and manners) Consuls the next year following. Now, notwithstanding they had the rule of the commonwealth in their own hands, and that they had won part of the city

Cato committed to prison by Cæsar

Cato sent ambassador into Cyprus

with bribes, and the other part also with fear: yet they were both afraid of Cato, when they considered what trouble they had to overcome him, which they did very hardly notwithstanding, and to their great shame, being driven to use force, and yet thought they should never have done it. Furthermore, Clodius utterly despaired that he could possibly banish Cicero, so long as Cato was there. So devising ways how to do it, when he had taken possession of his office, he sent for Cato, and began to tell him, that he thought him the honestest and justest man of Rome, and that he was ready to perform it to him by deed. For, where many made suit unto him to be sent into Cyprus, to make war with King Ptolemy: he thought none so worthy as himself, and therefore for the good-will he bare him, he was very willing to offer him that pleasure. Cato straight cried out with open mouth, that this was a device to entrap him, not to pleasure him. Then Clodius proudly and fiercely answered him, Well, seeing thou wilt not go with good-will, thou shalt go then against thy will: and so he did. For at the first assembly of the city, he caused the people to grant his commission for his journey thither: but they neither appointed him ships, nor soldiers, nor any ministers to go with him, saving two secretaries only, of the which, the one of them was a very villain and arrant thief, and the other, one of Clodius' followers. Besides all this, as if they had appointed him but little to do in Cyprus against Ptolemy, he made them command him after that, to go and restore the outlaws and banished men of the city of Byzantium, unto their country and goods again, of

purpose only to keep Cato far enough from Rome, whilst he continued Tribune. Cato being driven by necessity to obey, he counselled Cicero (whom Clodius pursued) to beware that he made no stir against him, for fear of bringing Rome into civil war and murther for his sake: but rather, to absent himself, that he might another time preserve his country. After that, he sent his friend Canidius before into Cyprus, unto Ptolemy, to persuade him to be quiet without war: declaring unto him, that he should neither lack honour nor riches, for the Romans would grant him the priesthood of Venus in the city of Paphos. Cato in the meantime remained in the Isle of Rhodes, preparing himself there, and abiding his answer. In the time of these stirs Ptolemy king of Egypt, for a certain offence and discord with his subjects, departing out of Alexandria, sailed towards Rome, hoping that Cæsar and Pompey with a great army would restore him to his crown and kingdom again. He being desirous to see Cato, sent unto him, supposing he would come at his sending for. Cato by chance was occupied at that time about some business, and bade the messenger will Ptolemy to come to him, if he would see him. So when Ptolemy came, he neither went to meet him, nor rose up unto him, but only welcomed him, and bade him sit down. It amazed the king at the first, to see under so simple and mean a train, such a stateliness and majesty in Cato's behaviour. But he heard him boldly talk with him of his affairs, and such grave talk come from him, reproving his folly he had committed, to forsake such princely pleasure and wealth, to go and subject himself unto such dishonour, such extreme pains,

Ptolemy king of Egypt goeth unto Cato

Cato's diligence about money in Cyprus

and such passing great gifts and presents, as he should throw away, to satisfy the covetousness of the rulers at Rome, the which was so unsatiable, that if all the realm of Egypt were converted into silver to give among them, it would scarce suffice them: in respect whereof, he counselled him to return back with his navy, and to reconcile himself again with his subjects, offering himself also to go with him, to help to make his peace. Then Ptolemy coming to himself, and repenting him of his folly, knowing that Cato told him truly, and wisely: he determined to follow his counsel, had not his friends turned his mind to the contrary. So when Ptolemy came to Rome, and was driven to wait at the gates of the magistrates that were in authority: he sighed then, and repented his folly, for that he had not only despised the counsel of a wise man, but rather the oracle of a god. Furthermore, the other Ptolemy that was in Cyprus (a happy turn for Cato) poisoned himself. Cato being also informed that he left a wonderful sum of money behind him, he determined to go himself unto Byzantium, and sent his nephew Brutus into Cyprus, because he durst not trust Canidius so far. Then having restored the banished men unto the people's favour again, setting agreement betwixt them, he returned into Cyprus. There he found a marvellous great treasure, and plate both of gold and silver, tables, precious-stones, hangings, and purple silks, all the which he was to make ready money of. There he took great care and pains to raise all things to the utmost and dearest prices that could be, and he himself was present at all, to keep reckoning of the last penny. Wherefore, to bring this

to pass, he would not stand to the common use of the sale of the cryer, but suspected them all, both criers, praisers, and his own friends, and therefore talked himself with the praisers, and made them set high prices upon everything that was to be sold. And thus were the most part of the goods sold and carried away, at the dearest prices. This did marvellously offend the most of his friends, when they saw that he did mistrust them: but Munatius specially, his dearest friend, took it so inwardly, that he thought never to be friends with him again. Insomuch as in the book Cæsar wrote against Cato, in this place he forceth most the accusation against him. Munatius notwithstanding writeth, that he was not angry so much with Cato for that he mistrusted him, but for a certain disdain he had himself of Cato, and for the emulation betwixt him and Canidius. For Munatius wrote a book of Cato's deeds and sayings, whom Thrasea in his history chiefly followed. In this book he sheweth that he came late into Cyprus, and was very ill lodged. And furthermore also, that when he would have come into Cato's house, they kept him out of the gates, for that Cato was busy, doing something with Canidius. He modestly complaining of it unto Cato, had this churlish answer: Overmuch love, saith Theophrastus, oftentimes causeth hate. So fareth it with thee, who over-loving me, dost think that I esteem thee not as thou deservest, and therefore art angry with me. And for Canidius, I must tell thee truly, I do rather employ him for his skill and faithfulness in things, than any man else: for that he hath been with me from the beginning, and as far as I learn, was never bribed, but clean handed

The envy betwixt

Cato and Munatius

still. These words Cato told Munatius secretly between them two, but afterwards he knew that he had also reported them unto Canidius. When he saw that, he would no more go and sup with Cato as he was wont, and when he was also called to counsel, he would not come there neither. Wherefore Cato threatened him, that he would seize upon all his goods and carriage, as they use to handle them that are disobedient unto justice. This notwithstanding, Munatius cared not for it, but took sea, and returned again to Rome, bearing Cato grudge a long time. Then Marcia, being at that time Cato's wife, spake with him, and were both bidden to supper together, unto a friend of theirs, called Barca. Thereupon Cato also arrived, and came thither, when they were all set at supper, and asked where he should sit, Barca told him again, where it pleased him. Then casting his eyes about, he said he would sit by Munatius: and so fetching a compass about the board, he went and sat by him, but offered him no friendship and familiarity all supper-time. Afterwards notwithstanding, at the request of Marcia, that was earnestly in hand with Cato for him: he wrote unto him, and willed him to come and speak with him. Munatius went to Cato's house in the morning, where Marcia stayed him, and kept him company, until all the rest that came to salute Cato, were departed. Then Cato coming to him, embraced him in his arms, and made very much of him. We have the willinglier dilated this matter at length, because men's natures and manners might be discerned even in these small matters of friendship privately, as otherwise in the greatest publick causes. Now touching Cato's commission, he got together

little less than seven thousand silver talents. Furthermore, fearing the farness of the journey he had to go by sea, he made divers little coffers, and put into every one of them two talents, and five hundred drachmas, and tied unto each of them a long rope, and a great piece of cork: because that if the ship should fortune to miscarry, those corks might shew where the chests with money lay in the bottom of the sea. Thus was all the money saved, saving a little, and brought safely to Rome. Cato having made two books wherein he had noted all things done in his journey, he could neither save the one nor the other of them. For one of his bondmen made free, called Philargyrus, took the one away: who taking ship at the haven of Cenchrea, was himself drowned, and the book he had also, lost with him. The other book which he himself had kept, until he came unto Corfu: he lying in the market-place of the city in his tents, which he caused to be set up: the mariners being very cold in the night, made so great a fire, that it burnt the tents, stuff, book and all. Notwithstanding, he brought certain of the late King Ptolemy's slaves with him, who while he lived, had the charge and custody of all his treasure and riches, the which he brought as witnesses, to stop the mouths of his malicious enemies, that would have accused him in anything. But yet the loss of them did grieve him, not so much for the great care and pains he had taken in setting down the account of his charge, for the justification and proof of his fidelity and good service: but also, for that they might have served for a good memorial and example unto all others, to have been alike careful in their charge,

Money gotten together by Cato in Cyprus

Cato received into Rome with great honour

as himself. But the gods denied him this good hap. News being brought that he was come to Rome by water, when they understood that he was at hand, by and by all the magistrates, the priests, the Senate, and the most part of the people also went out to meet him by the river's side: so that both sides of the river of Tiber were full of people, and the receiving of him in, seemed not inferior to the entry of a triumph. Notwithstanding, some thought him very presumptuous, that the Consuls and Prætors coming out to meet him, he did not stay his galley, but rowed still up the stream (being in a king's galley of six oars to every bank) and never stayed, until all his fleet arrived in the haven. This notwithstanding, when the coffers with money were carried through the market-place into the treasure-chamber, the people wondered to see so great a quantity of it. And thereupon the Senate being assembled, with great and honourable words they gave Cato an extraordinary Prætorship, and privilege also, at any common sports to wear a purple gown. Cato refused all these honours, and only besought the Senate to make Nicias a freeman, steward of the late deceased King Ptolemy, being a witness of his faith and great pains he had taken in this service. Philip the father of Marcia, was that year Consul, so that after a sort, the authority of the Consul was in Cato: because Lentulus, colleague and fellow Consul with Philip, did no less reverence Cato for his vertues, than Philip did for his alliance with him. Furthermore, when Cicero was restored again from his banishment, the which Publius Clodius (being then Tribune of the people) had put upon him, and being

again grown to great credit: he went one day into the capitol, in the absence of Clodius, by force to take away the tables which Clodius had consecrated there, in the which were comprised all his doings during the time he was Tribune. Thereupon the Senate being assembled, Clodius did accuse Cicero of this violent fact. Cicero answered him again: That because Clodius was chosen Tribune, directly against the law, therefore all his doings were void, and of no validity. Then stood up Cato, and said: He knew that all that which Clodius did when he was Tribune, was scantly good and allowable, but yet if generally any man should undo all that he had passed by that authority: then all that he himself had done likewise in Cyprus, must of necessity be revoked. For the commission that was granted unto him (by vertue whereof he had done many things) should be unlawful: because the Tribune also that did grant it him, was not lawfully chosen. And therefore, that Publius Clodius was not made Tribune against the law, who by consent of the law was taken out from a noble house, and made a popular person: howbeit, if he had behaved himself undutifully in his office, as other men that haply had offended, then he was to be accused to make him mend his fault, and not to destroy the authority of the officer, which in it self was lawful. After that, there fell misliking betwixt Cicero and Cato, for this counterbuff he had given him: and Cicero continued a long time after, before he did shew him any countenance of friendship as he had at other times done. But afterwards they were reconciled together again, by this occasion. Pompey and Crassus having been with Cæsar to talk

Quarrel betwixt Cato and Cicero

Riot in the field of Mars

with him (who for that purpose came out of Gaul beyond the Alps) made an agreement there betwixt them, to demand the second Consulship together, and when they had it, then to prorogue Cæsar's government for five years more, and also they would have the best provinces and greatest, for themselves, with great armies, and money enough to pay them with. This was indeed a plain conspiracy to divide the empire of Rome between them, and utterly to overthrow the state of the commonwealth. At that time there were many noblemen, which came to make suit for the Consulship. But when they saw Pompey and Crassus offer to make suit for it, all the rest gave over, but Lucius Domitius that had married Porcia, Cato's sister: through whose persuasion he would not relinquish his suit, considering that it was not the office only of the Consulship that was the chiefest matter of importance, but the liberty of the Senate and people. Straight there ran a rumour through the most part of the people, that they were not to suffer Pompey's power to be joined with Crassus, by means of this office: for then his authority would be too great and strong, and therefore, that of necessity one of these two were to be denied. For this cause therefore, the good men took Domitius' part, and did encourage him to go on with his suit, assuring him of aid underhand of divers, which durst not be seen openly for fear of those two great men, who at the day of the election would procure him voices in his favour. Pompey and Crassus mistrusting this, made Domitius be set upon, going with torch-light before day into the field of Mars, where the election was always made: and first striking the torch-bearer that went

before him, they hurt him so sore, that he fell down dead at his feet. Then they laid at the rest in like case, who finding themselves cruelly hurt, ran away every man of them, and left Domitius and Cato post alone. But Cato, notwithstanding he was hurt in one of his arms, still held Domitius fast, and prayed him to tarry, and not to leave to defend the liberty of their country, against tyrants, which plainly shewed after what manner they would govern, sith by such wicked means they aspired to tyrannical government. All this notwithstanding, Domitius would tarry no longer, but betook him to his legs, and ran home. Thus were Crassus and Pompey without denial proclaimed Consuls. Cato never yielded therefore, but came and sued to be Prætor, because that thereby he might yet make it some strength and countenance to him against their Consulship, that being no private person, he should have some better authority to resist them that were the chiefest persons. But they fearing, that the Prætorship by the estimation of Cato, would come to equal their authority of the Consulship: first assembled the Senate (the most part of the Senators not hearing of it) and in that assembly caused the Senate to decree: that all such as were chosen Prætors, should presently go to their charge, not attending the time and liberty appointed by the law, during which time men might accuse those which had bought the voices of the people with money. Then having by this colour and decree set ill-doers at liberty, without fear of punishment, they pretending to use corruption, did prefer some of their own ministers to make suit for the Prætorship, themselves giving money to corrupt the people.

Why Cato sued to be Prætor

Cato put from the Prætorship by Pompey

being present also at the election. But notwithstanding all these practices, the vertue and reputation of Cato overcame them. For the people had him in so great reverence, that they thought it too shameful a part to sell Cato by voices, who deserved rather to be hired to take the Prætorship upon him. Then the first tribe being called to give their voices, declared him Prætor. Pompey seeing that, straight brake off the assembly, making a shameful lie, telling that he heard it thunder: the which the Romans do marvellously detest, and will conclude nothing when it thundreth. Howbeit afterwards they gave more money, than they had done before, and thereby drave away the chiefest men out of the field of Mars, and by practice obtained, that Vatinius was chosen Prætor for Cato. And the report went, that they that had so wickedly given their voices, feeling themselves pricked in conscience, fled immediately out of the field: and the honest men that remained, were both very sorry and angry, for the injury they had offered Cato. At that time one of the Tribunes keeping an assembly of the city, Cato stood up, and told (as if he had prophesied) before them all, what would happen to the commonwealth by these practisers, and stirred up the people against Pompey, and Cæsar, saying: That they were guilty of those things, and therefore procured them to be done, because they were afraid that if Cato had been Prætor, he would too narrowly have sifted out their devices. In fine, Cato going home to his house, had more company to wait upon him alone, than all the other Prætors that had been chosen. When Caius Trebonius, Tribune of the people, had preferred a law for the dividing of the

provinces unto the new Consuls, Spain and Africk unto the one, and Egypt and Syria unto the other, with full power to make war as they thought good both by sea and land: all other men having no hope to keep it back, did let it alone, and spake nothing to contrary it. Then Cato getting up into the pulpit for orations, before the people began to give their voices, could hardly have two hours' space to speak: but at length, they perceiving that he delayed time by foretelling things to come, would suffer him to speak no longer, but sent a sergeant to him, and plucked him by force out of the pulpit. But when he was beneath, and cried out notwithstanding, and divers gave good ear unto him: the sergeant went to him again, and took him, and carried him out of the market-place. Howbeit the officer had no sooner left him, but he went straight towards the pulpit for orations, and there cried out more vehemently than before, and willed the people to have an eye to aid the liberty of their commonwealth, which went to ruin. When he oftentimes together did this, Trebonius the Tribune being mad withal, commanded his sergeant to carry him to prison. The people followed him hard notwithstanding, to hear what he said unto them. Whereupon Trebonius fearing some stir, was forced to command his sergeant to let Cato go. So Cato drave off all that day without any matter concluded. The next morning notwithstanding, the contrary faction having partly put the Romans in fear, and won the other part also by fair words and money, and by force of arms likewise kept Aquilius, one of the Tribunes, from coming out of the Senate, and after they had also violently driven Cato out of the market-place,

Cato was against the law

for the provinces of Pompey and Crassus

for saying that it thundred, and having hurt many men, and also slain some out of hand in the market-place: in the end they forcibly passed the decree by voices of the people. Many being offended therewith, went a company of them together to pluck down Pompey's images: but Cato would not suffer them. And afterwards also, when they preferred another law for the prorogation of the provinces and armies which Cæsar demanded: Cato would speak no more to the people to hinder it, but protested unto Pompey himself, that he saw not how he plucked Cæsar upon him, and that he should feel the weight of his force before he looked for it: and then when he could neither suffer nor remedy it, he would even cast his burthen and himself upon the commonwealth, and too late would remember Cato's warnings, which were privately as profitable for Pompey, as openly just and reasonable for the commonwealth. Cato used many of these persuasions sundry times unto him, but Pompey never made account of them: for he would not be persuaded that Cæsar would ever change in that sort, and besides he trusted too much to his own power and prosperity. Furthermore Cato was chosen Prætor for the next year following, in the which it appeared (though he ministered justice uprightly) that he rather defaced and impaired the majesty and dignity of his office, than that he gave it grace and countenance by his doings: for he would oftentimes go afoot bare-legged, and without any coat, unto his Prætor's chair, and there give sentence of life and death, otherwhiles of men of great account. And some report, that he would give audience when he

had dined, and drunk wine: but that is untrue. Now Cato perceiving that the citizens of Rome were marred by bribes and gifts of those which aspired unto offices, and that the people made it an art and faculty to gain by: to root this vice altogether out of the commonwealth, he persuaded the Senate to make a law, that such as hereafter should be chosen Consuls or Prætors, should (if there were no man to accuse them) come and offer themselves before the judges, and taking their oath, should truly declare what means they had used to attain to their office. This offended the suitors for the offices, but much more the mercenary multitude. Whereupon, a great number of them went in a morning together where he kept his audience, and all cried out upon him, reviled him and threw stones at him: insomuch as they that were there, were forced to fly thence, and himself also was driven out of the place by the prease of people, and had much ado to get to the pulpit for orations, where standing on his feet, he presently pacified the tumult of the people, by the boldness and constancy of his countenance only. Then when all was pacified by the present persuasions he used, aptly spoken to purpose for the instant, they giving attentive ear, without stir or uproar. The Senate giving him great commendation therefore, he told them roundly and plainly: But I have no cause to praise you, to leave a Prætor in such danger of his life, offering no aid to help him. But the suitors for the offices, they were in a marvellous case: for one way, they were afraid to give money to buy the people's voices, and on the other side, they were afraid also if any other did it, that they should go

Cato preferred a law for unlawful bribing

The power of justice

without their suit. So they were all agreed together, every man to put down twelve myriads and a half apiece, and then they should make their suit justly and uprightly: and whosoever were taken faulty, and that had otherwise made his way by corruption, that he should lose the money he had laid down. This agreement being concluded between them, they chose Cato (as it is reported) for their arbitrator, and keeper of all the same money. This match was made in Cato's house, where they all did put in caution or sureties to answer the money: the which he took, but would not meddle with the money. The day being come, Cato assisting the Tribune that governed the election, and carefully marking how they did give their voices: he spied one of the suitors for the office break the accord agreed upon, and condemned him to pay the forfeiture unto the rest. But they greatly commending his justice and integrity, forgave the forfeiture, thinking it punishment enough unto him that had forfeited, to be condemned by Cato. But thereby Cato procured himself the displeasure of the other Senators, for that he seemed therein to take upon him the power and authority over the whole court and election. For there is no vertue, whereof the honour and credit doth procure more envy, than justice doth: because the people do commonly respect and reverence that more than any other. For they do not honour them as they do valiant men, nor have them in admiration, as they do wise men: but they love and trust them better. As for the two first, the one they are afraid of, and the other they distrust: besides, they suppose that valiancy and wisdom cometh rather by the

benefit of nature, than of our intent and choice: esteeming wisdom as a readiness of conceit, and fortitude, a presence and courage of the mind. For every man may be just that will, and therefore injustice is of all other vices most shameful: for it is a wilful and malicious default, and therefore cannot be excused. Lo this was the cause why all the noblemen in manner were against Cato, as though he only had overcome them. Pompey, he thought that the estimation of Cato was altogether the discountenance of his power and greatness, and therefore did daily raise up many railers against him. Of them Publius Clodius that seditious Tribune, who was again fallen in friendship with Pompey: he accused Cato and cried out upon him, How he had robbed the commonwealth of a wonderful treasure, by his commission in Cyprus: and that he was enemy unto Pompey, because he did refuse to marry his daughter. Cato thereto made answer, That he had brought more gold and silver out of Cyprus, into the treasure of Rome, without the allowance of either horse or soldier: than Pompey had done with all his triumphs and wars, with the which he had troubled all the world. And moreover, that he did never seek alliance with Pompey, not that he thought him unworthy of it, but because he saw he dealt not as uprightly in the commonwealth as he himself did. I, said he, have refused a province offered me when I came out of my Prætorship: but Pompey hath taken some by force, and given away unto others. And to conclude, he lent Cæsar not long since, an army of six thousand men to serve him in the wars in Gaul: the which he never required of us, nor Pompey

Why Cato was hated of the noblemen

Cato doth set forth the plays for Favonius

granted them him by our consent. But we see, that so many armies, armours and weapon, so many men and horses by common pleasures of our private citizens, given and lent at our charge. And Pompey himself reserving only the name of emperor, and lieutenant-general, assigneth over his armies and provinces to the government of others, whilst he himself besiegeth here the walls of the city, with seditious and tumultuous election of officers, craftily undermining thereby the state of the commonwealth, to bring all to confusion, that he himself might be absolute prince, and rule alone. Thus was he revenged of Pompey. Among Cato's friends, he had one called Marcus Favonius, such a one as Apollodorus Phalerian was said to be in old time, unto Socrates, who did counterfait to be another himself, in doing all things as he did. This man would be far out of reason, and passionate in his talk, storming like a drunkard. He one year made suit to be Ædilis, but he was rejected. Howbeit Cato that furthered his suit, marked, that the tables wherein the voices were written, were all one hand. So, he finding out the falsehood, appealed thereupon unto the Tribunes, and made the election void for that time. After that Favonius was created Ædilis, Cato did help him forth in all the other charges of his office, and specially in setting forth plays in the theatre, which are customably done at the coming in of every such new officer, to give the people pastime: and gave unto the common players and dancers in those plays, no golden crowns, as other Ædiles did, but crowns of wild olive twigs, as they commonly use in Greece at the Olympian games. And where others gave unto the poor rich

gifts, he gave the Grecians leeks, lettises, radishes, and pears: and unto the Romans, they had earthen pots full of wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and fagots of wood of small value. Insomuch as some thought scorn of them they were so mean, others were very glad of them, seeing that Cato which was severe and hard of nature, had a doing in them, and by little and little they turned this austerity of his into pleasure. In fine, Favonius himself sitting down amongst the people, which looked upon the players, clapped his hands for joy at Cato: and cried out to him, that he should give them good rewards that played well, alluring them also about him to do the like, and told them that he had made Cato the whole ruler of those sports. At the self same time, Curio, Favonius' colleague and companion in the office of Ædilis, had likewise goodly plays in another theatre: but all the people forsook his, and went to see Favonius' plays, who sat among them like a private man, and Cato as the maister of the plays. Cato did this in scorn and mockery of vain charge and expenses, which men are wont to bestow in such trifles, shewing thereby, that whosoever will make any plays, he should make the charge but a sport also, furnishing it only with a convenient grace, but with no vain expense or charge about such a trifle. Shortly after, when Scipio, Hypsæus and Milo, sued all three together to be Consuls, not only by bribery of money (a common fault then in suing for any of the offices in the commonwealth) but by plain force of arms, slaying and killing as in a civil war, they were so desperate and insolent: some preferred a law, that they should make Pompey President in

Pompey created sole Consul

by Cato's sentence

these elections, because men should move their suit after a lawful sort. But Cato straight was against it, saying, That the law could have no safety by Pompey, but Pompey might have safety by the law. Notwithstanding, when he saw this trouble continue of a long time, without any Consuls in Rome, and that daily there were three camps in the market-place, that it was almost impossible to prevent the mischief at hand, and to stay that it should go no further: then he thought it better, that the Senate of their own good-wills, rather than by compulsion, should put the government of the state into Pompey's hands alone, choosing the lesser evil, to withstand the greater, and so to yield to the absolute government without constraint, which the sedition would bring it unto. Therefore Bibulus Cato's friend and kinsman, made a motion to the Senate, that they would choose Pompey sole Consul. For, said he, either the commonwealth shall be well governed by him, or else Rome shall serve an ill lord. Cato then rising up, beyond all men's expectation confirmed Bibulus' opinion, and said: That the city were better to have one foreign magistrate than none, and that he hoped Pompey could give present order for the pacifying of this confusion, and that he would be careful to preserve the city, when he saw that they trusted him with the government thereof. Thus was Pompey by Cato's means chosen sole Consul. Then he sent for Cato to come to his gardens to him, which were in the suburbs of the city. Cato went thither, and was received with as great honour and courtesy of Pompey as could be devised: and in the end, after he had given him

great thanks for the honours he had done him, he prayed him to afford him his advice and counsel in his government. Cato answered him thus, That he had not spoken anything before that time in respect of any ill-will he bare him, neither that he delivered this last opinion of his in respect of his friendship, but wholly for the commonwealths sake: howbeit otherwise, that for his own private affairs, if he thought good to use his advice, whensoever it pleased him to ask his opinion, he would tell him the best he could. But for common causes, that he would always tell what he thought, though he never asked him: and in fine, he performed all he said. For first of all, when Pompey did set grievous penalties and new fines upon their heads, which had bought the people's voices for money: Cato counselled him to provide for things to come, and to let that alone which was already past. For, said he, it is a hard thing to determine any certain time, in the which a man should seek to reform the faults that are past: and furthermore, if the punishments appointed were newer than the offences committed, then they should do wrong unto them that were already accused, to punish them by a new law which they had not offended. Afterwards also, certain men of good calling (Pompey's friends) being accused, Cato perceiving that Pompey grew remiss, and yielded in many things: he sharply reproved, and reformed him. Furthermore, where Pompey had by law taken away the praises which were wont to be spoken of the offenders that were accused: he himself notwithstanding having written an oration in the praise of Munatius Plancus, sent it unto the judges, whilst his cause was a-hearing. Cato being

Cato and Pompey

Cato sued to be Consul to resist Cæsar

one of the judges at that time, stopped his ears with both his hands, and would not have it read. Wherefore Plancus refused him for one of his judges, after his cause was pleaded unto: howbeit he was condemned notwithstanding. To conclude, Cato was such a grief and trouble unto them that were accused, that they could not tell well how to deal with him. For, once they durst not let him be any of their judges, neither could they well also refuse him. For there were many that were condemned, which refusing Cato, seemed unto others that they were guilty: and many also were shamefully reproved, because they would not accept Cato for their judge, when he was offered them. Things proceeding in this sort at Rome, Cæsar remained in Gaul with his army, where he made wars: nevertheless he wan him friends still in Rome, by gifts and money, and made himself very strong. Now appeared Cato's predictions and forewarnings true unto Pompey, and began to quicken his spirits which had slept so long, and made him then to consider of the danger, the which before he could not be persuaded to believe. But perceiving his slackness and fear withal, doubting how to proceed: to prevent Cæsar's practices, Cato determined to sue to be Consul, with intent either to make him leave his army, or else to find out the practice he intended. Cato's competitors, they were both of them very honest men also, of the which, Sulpicius had received great honour and preferment by Cato's credit and authority: in respect whereof, many thought that it was scant honestly done of Sulpicius, to shew himself so unthankful, as to stand against Cato in this suit. Howbeit Cato never complained

of the matter, but said, That it was no marvel he would give place to no man in that, sith it was the greatest good hap that ever came unto him. This notwithstanding he persuaded the Senate to make a law, that from thenceforth, such as sued for any office, they should themselves be suitors to the people, and not prefer their suit by others. This caused the people to be more offended with him, than before, because thereby he did not only take away their fingering of money, which they got by their voices in elections: but took from them the means they had also to pleasure many, bringing them now into poverty and contempt. He therefore having no face to flatter the people and to curry favour with them, but rather sticking to his grave manner and modest life, than to seek the dignity of a Consul by such means: made suit himself in person, and would not suffer his friends to take the ordinary course which might win the people's hearts, whereupon he was put from his Consulship. This denial was wont not only to have made the parties refused, very sorrowful, but their friends and kinsmen also greatly ashamed a long time after. Howbeit Cato made no reckoning of that, but went the next morning, and played at tennis with his friends in the field of Mars, and after he had dined, walked again in the market-place, as his manner was, without shoes on his feet, and coat. But Cicero blamed him much for that, because the commonwealth requiring then such a Consul as he, he had not carefully endeavoured himself by courtesy and gentle means to win the favour of the people, neither would ever after make suit for it, although at another time he sued to be Prætor. Thereunto Cato

Cato was denied the Consulship

Cato's opinion against Cæsar

answered, That for the Prætorship he was not denied it by the good-will of the people, but rather for that they were bribed with money. And for the election of the Consuls, where there was no deceit used, he knew plainly he went without it, for his manners which the people misliked: the which he thought were no wise man's part to change for any man's pleasure, nor yet by making the like suit again to hazard the refusal. Furthermore, Cæsar making war with very stout nations, and having with no small danger and travel subdued them: and having also set upon the Germans, with whom the Romans were at peace, and also slain three hundred thousand persons: his friends made suit that the people should do solemn sacrifice to give thanks unto the gods. But Cato in open Senate was of opinion, that they should deliver Cæsar into their hands, whom he had injured, to receive such punishment as they thought good: to the end the whole offence, for the breach of peace, might be cast upon him, that the city might be no partaker of it, sith they could not do withal. Nevertheless, said he, we are to do sacrifices unto the gods, to give them thanks, for that they turned not the revenge of the fury and rashness of the captain, upon our poor soldiers which were in no fault, but have pardoned the commonwealth. Cæsar being advertised thereof, wrote a letter unto the Senate, containing many accusations against Cato. The letter being read, Cato rose, not as a man put in a chafe with choler, nor pricked with envy, but coldly and quietly (as if he had long before premeditated what he would say) declared that the accusations which Cæsar heaped

against him in his letters, were but pretty mocks and sleights which he had gathered together to make the people merry withal. But on the other side, when he began to unrip his whole intents and practices from the beginning, not as if he had been his enemy, but rather a confederate with him in his conspiracy, declaring that they were not the Germans, nor the Gauls, which they were to be afraid of, but of himself, if they were wise: he thereupon so offended the Senate, and made such stir among them, that Cæsar's friends repented them they had caused his letters to be read in the Senate, giving Cato thereby occasion justly to complain of Cæsar, and to allege much good matter against him. At that time therefore there was nothing decreed in the Senate against Cæsar, but this was said only, that it were good reason to let him have a successor. Then Cæsar's friends made suit that Pompey should put away his army, and resign up the provinces he kept, or else that they should compel Cæsar no more than him to do it. Then Cato opened his mouth, and said, The thing was now come to pass, which he had ever told them of, and that Cæsar came to oppress the commonwealth, openly turning the army against it, which deceitfully he had obtained of the same. All this prevailed not, neither could he thereby win anything of the Senate, because the people favoured Cæsar, and would always have him great: for the Senate did believe all that he said, but for all that they feared the people. When news was brought that Cæsar had won the city of Ariminum, and was coming on with his army towards Rome: then every man looked upon Cato, and the people and Pompey

Cato inveigheth against Cæsar

Cato followeth Pompey

confessed, that he only from the beginning had found out the mark Cæsar shot at, and had hit the white of his sly device. Then said Cato unto them, If you would have believed me, my lords, and followed my counsel: you should not now have been afraid of one man alone, neither should you also have put your only hope in one man. Pompey answered thereunto, That Cato indeed had guessed more truly, howbeit that he also had dealt more friendly. Thereupon Cato gave counsel that the Senate should refer all unto Pompey's order: For, said he, they that can do great mischief, know also how to help it. Pompey perceiving that he had no army convenient about him to tarry Cæsar's coming, and that the men also which he had, were but faint-hearted: he forsook the city. Cato being determined to go with him, sent his younger son before unto Munatius, which lay in the country of the Bruttians, and took his eldest son with him. Now, because he was to provide a stay and governor of his house and daughters, he took Marcia again, which was left a widow and very rich, for that Hortensius dying, made her his heir of all that he had. Therein Cæsar upbraideth Cato much, reproving his covetousness to marry for goods. For, said he, if he had need of a wife, why then did he before grant her unto another? If he had no need of a woman, why then did he take her afterwards again? Unless she were before a bait unto Hortensius, to keep her whilst she was young, that he might have her again when she was rich. But against that me thinks it is sufficient to recite these verses of Euripides:

Unlikelihoods first I will disprove. For why? what man can say,
That ever fear made Hercules to turn his face away?

Cato is sent into Sicily

For I take it to be all one, to reprove Hercules' cowardliness, and Cato's covetousness. But if his marriage be to be reproved, peradventure it is in another sort. For so soon as he had married Marcia again, he left his house and his daughters to her government, and followed Pompey. But after that time, men report that he never polled his head, clipped his beard, nor ware any garland, but to his dying day, lamented, and bewailed in his heart, the misery and calamity of his country, whether they had victory, or were overcome. So having the province of Sicily allotted to him, he went unto Syracuse. There understanding that Asinius Pollio was arrived at Messina, with men of war from his enemies: Cato sent unto him, to know wherefore he came thither. Pollio again asked of him, who was the causer of all this war. Again, when Cato was advertised that Pompey had forsaken Italy, and that he lay in camp beyond the sea by the city of Dyrrachium, then he said, he saw a marvellous great change and uncertainty in the providence of the gods: that when Pompey did all things beyond reason, and out of course, he was invincible: and now that he sought to preserve his country, he saw he lacked his former good hap. Now he knew he was strong enough at that time to drive Asinius Pollio out of Sicily if he would: but because there came a greater aid unto him, he would not plague that island, with the misery of war. Then after he had advised the Syracusans to take the stronger part, and to look to their safety: he took the sea

Cato's laws in Pompey's army

and went towards Pompey. When he was come unto him, he did always counsel him to prolong the war, hoping still of some treaty of peace: and would in no case they should come to fight any battell, where the weaker part should of necessity be put to the sword, by the stronger. Therefore he persuaded Pompey and the counsellors about him, to establish certain laws to this effect. That they should sack no city in this war, the which belonged unto the empire of Rome: and also, that they should kill no citizen of Rome, but in fury of battell, when their swords were in their hands. Thereby he wan himself great honour, and brought many men to take Pompey's part, by the lenity and clemency he used unto them that were taken. Thereupon Cato being sent into Asia, to aid them that had commission to press ships and men of war, he took his sister Servilia with him, and the boy which Lucullus had by her: for all the time of her widowhood, she had followed Cato, and thereby had worn out her ill name she had before, sith they saw she had so willingly given her self to follow him in his flying, and contented her self with this straight manner of life. This notwithstanding, Cæsar did not let to shame her to Cato. Pompey's captains had no need of Cato anywhere but at Rhodes. For he wan the people there with his courteous usage and persuasion, leaving with them Servilia and her little son, and went from thence to Pompey's camp, who had levied a great army both by sea and land. There did Pompey most of all discover his mind and intent. For first he meant to have given Cato the charge of the army by sea, which were

above five hundred ships of war, besides an infinite number of foists and pinnaces, and such small bottoms uncovered: but suddenly considering better of it (or possibly being informed by some of his friends, that all Cato's regard and counsel in matters of government was, to deliver Rome from tyranny, and that if he had so great a charge under him, Cæsar being once overcome, he would also force Pompey to leave his army, and so make him subject to the law) he changed his mind, notwithstanding he had already moved it to Cato, and leaving him, gave Bibulus the charge of all his army by sea. But Cato therefore shewed no less good-will unto Pompey, than before. For it is reported, that in a certain skirmish and conflict before the city of Dyrrachium, Pompey encouraging his soldiers, and commanding every captain also to do the like in his quarter: the soldiers gave but faint ear unto them, and made no manner of shew of men whose hearts had been any whit the more encouraged thereby. But when Cato after them all came and told them (as the time served) the reason of philosophy, and the effect of liberty, manhood, death, and honour, and that with a great vehement affection: and last of all ending his oration, calling upon the gods, turning his speech unto them, as if they had been present to have seen how valiantly the soldiers fought for the liberty of their country: they gave such a lusty cry, and had such a brave conceit and vehement desire to fight like men, that all the captains were filled with good hope, and so led them to battell, where they gave such a cruel charge and fierce onset upon their enemies, that they overthrew them,

Why Pompey changed his mind

for the government of the army by sea

and put them that day to flight. Howbeit Cæsar's good fortune took the final end of this victory from Pompey, by his overgreat fear and mistrust: who could not tell how to take the benefit of his victory, as we have written more amply in his life. But when all the rest rejoiced that they had done so noble an exploit, and made their vaunts of the great advantage they had of their enemies: Cato to the contrary bewailed the calamity of his country, and lamented that cursed ambition which caused so many good and valiant citizens of one self city, so to kill and murther one another. After this overthrow, Cæsar taking his way into Thessaly, Pompey raised his camp to follow him, and leaving a great power at Dyrrachium, of men, armour, munition and friends: he gave Cato the charge of them all, and fifteen ensigns of footmen besides. The which he did for the fear and mistrust he had of him, being assured, that if by ill-fortune he should lose the battell, he knew well enough that he could not commit them to a trustier man than he: but on the other side if he wan the victory, he doubted sore that he could not command as he would, where Cato was. There were also many other noblemen, as a man would say, cast away, and left at Dyrrachium, with Cato. In fine, the overthrow of the battel at Pharsalia being blown abroad, Cato resolved with himself if Pompey were dead, that he would pass over all his men into Italy, and then like a banished man would himself alone wander as far as he could from the tyranny: and contrarily, if he were alive, that then he would keep his army together for him, as long as he could. With this determination, he passed over the sea into the Isle

of Corfu, where Pompey's army by sea lay. There Cato finding Cicero, he would have surrendered up his charge unto him, as to a man of greater dignity, for that he had been Consul, and Cato only but Prætor. Howbeit Cicero would in nowise receive it, but returned immediately into Italy. Cato then perceiving that Pompey the younger (son unto Pompey the Great) of a rash and haughty mind, would have punished all them that went into Italy, and left the army by sea, and that specially he was bent first of all to begin with Cicero: Cato reproved him privately for it, so that he certainly saved Cicero's life, and many other mo besides. Now Cato supposing that Pompey the Great had saved himself in Egypt, or in Africk, he determined to take the seas, to meet him with all his men: but before he took ship, he gave all men leave to depart that were not willing to follow him. Cato being arrived in Africk, sailing up and down the coast there, he met with Sextus, the youngest son of Pompey, who first told him, that his father was slain in Egypt: when the soldiers heard it, they took it very heavily, and not one of them after the death of Pompey the Great, would serve under any other captain than Cato. He thereupon being ashamed, and thinking it pity also to leave so many noble and good men that had served so faithfully under him, without a captain, not knowing what way to take, nor whither to go: at their request he was contented to take charge of them, and went first unto the city of Cyrene, where not many days before, the citizens had shut the gates against Labienus. Being there, it was told him that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was gotten

Cato saveth Cicero's life

Cato went into Africk

unto King Juba, who had received him: and that Atius Varus, unto whom Pompey had given the charge of the province of Africk, was in their company with an army, and determined to go join with them. So he went by land in the winter-time, and had gotten a marvellous number of asses together, to carry water and victuals, which followed him with a great number of carts besides, and of those men, which the Africans call Psylles, to wit, they that do heal the stinging of serpents, and do suck out the poison with their mouths, and do furthermore charm and enchant the snakes, that they have no power to do any hurt. He was seven days together marching continually, and went afoot as a guide unto his men, without help of horse or beast. From that day forth, on the which he understood of the battell lost at Pharsalia, he never supped, but sitting, and added that unto the rest of his sorrow, that he never laid him down, but when he went to bed for all night. Cato having passed the winter in Libya, he brought his soldiers into the field, which were about ten thousand persons. The affairs on their side had but hard success, for the contention and variance betwixt Scipio, and Varus, for the which, they both flattered King Juba to win his favour: being a marvellous proud man for his greatness and riches: as he shewed the first time he spake with Cato. For when Cato came, he caused his own chair to be set betwixt Scipio and Cato, to have the honour to be in the midst. But Cato perceiving it, took up his own chair, and set it on the other side by Scipio to put him in the middest, notwithstanding that he was his enemy, and had written a

shameful book against him. Many make no accompt of this fact of Cato, but reprove him, because that walking one day with Philostratus in Sicily, he gave him the upper hand, honouring him for his philosophy. Thus Cato did pull down the pride of the king at that time, who before had used Scipio, and Varus, as his noblemen and subjects: howbeit Cato did reconcile them together again. Furthermore, when all the company prayed him to take charge of the whole army, and that Scipio himself, and Varus both, did first give him place, and willingly resigned unto him the honour to command the whole camp: he answered them, He would not offend the law, sith he made war only to preserve the authority and privilege thereof, neither would take upon him to command all, himself being but Vice-prætor, where there was a Vice-consul present. For Scipio was created Proconsul, and furthermore, the people had a certain confidence that their affairs would prosper the better, if they had but the name of a Scipio to lead them in Africk. Now when Scipio was general over them, he would straight, for Juba sake, have put all the inhabitants of the city of Utica (without respect of age) unto the sword, and have razed the houses to the ground as those that had taken Cæsar's part. Howbeit Cato would not suffer him, but protesting unto them that were present, and calling the gods to witness in open council, with great difficulty he saved the poor people of Utica from that cruel tragedy and slaughter. Afterwards, partly at the request of the people, and partly also at Scipio's instance, Cato took upon him to keep the city,

The modesty and noble mind of Cato

Cato was governor of the city of Utica

fearing lest by treason, or against their wills, it should come into Cæsar's hands: because it was a strong place of situation, and well replenished with all things necessary for him that should keep it. Cato did both furnish it, and also fortify it. For he brought in great store of corn, he repaired the rampers of the walls, made great high towers, and cast deep trenches round about the city, paling them in: and betwixt the trenches and the town, he lodged all the young men of Utica, and compelled them to deliver up their armour and weapon and kept all the rest within the city it self, carefully providing, that never a man of them should be hurt by the Romans, and besides, did also send corn, armour, munition and money unto the camp: so that the city of Utica was the staple and storehouse of the wars. Moreover, as he had before counselled Pompey not to come to battell, the like counsel he now gave also unto Scipio: not to hazard battell against a man of great skill and experience in wars, but to take time, whereby, by little and little, he should consume the power and strength of Cæsar's tyranny. But Scipio was so stout, that he regarded not Cato's counsel, but wrote otherwhile unto him, twitting him with his cowardliness in this manner: that it was enough for him to be safe in a good city compassed about with walls, though otherwise he sought not to hinder men to be valiant, to execute any enterprise as occasion was offered. Cato wrote again unto him, that he was ready to go into Italy with his footmen and horsemen which he had brought into Africk to draw Cæsar from them, and to turn him against him. Scipio made but a

sport at it. Then Cato shewed plainly, that he did repent him he had given him the preferment to be general of the army, because he saw he would but fondly prosecute this war: and also, that if he chanced to overcome, he could not moderately use the victory against his countrymen. Then he began to mistrust the good success of this war (and so he told his friends) for the general's hastiness and unskilfulness: and yet if beyond expectation it fell out well, and that Cæsar were overthrown, he would never dwell at Rome any more, but would fly the cruelty and bitterness of Scipio, who even at that present time did proudly threaten many. But in the end, that fell out sooner than looked for. For a post came to him late that night, who but three days before departed from the camp, and brought news that all was lost, in a great battell, by the city of Thapsus, which Cæsar had won: that he had taken both camps, that Scipio and King Juba were fled with a few men, and that all the rest of their army was slain. These news did put the citizens in such a fear and maze, (and specially being in the war, and in the night-time) that for very fear they could scant keep themselves within the walls of their city. But Cato meeting with them, stayed them that ran up and down crying in the streets, and did comfort them the best he could. Yet he took not all their fear from them, though he brought them again unto themselves from the ecstasy they were in, declaring unto them, that the loss was nothing so great as it was made, and that it was a common matter to enlarge such news with words enough. By these persuasions, he somewhat pacified the tumult and

Cato's constancy in extremity

His oration to the Romans at Utica

uproar, and the next morning by break of day, he made proclamation, that the three hundred men which he had chosen for his counsellors, should come and assemble in the temple of Jupiter, they all being citizens of Rome, which for traffick of merchandise lay in Africk, and all the Roman Senators and their children also. Now whilst they gathered themselves together, Cato himself went very gravely with a set modest countenance, as if no such matter had happened, having a little book in his hand, which he read as he went. This book contained the store and preparation of munition he had made for this war, as corn, armour, weapons, bows, slings and footmen. When they were all assembled, he began greatly to commend the good love and faithfulness of these three hundred Romans, which had profitably served their country with their persons, money, and counsel, and did counsel them not to depart one from another, as men having no hope, or otherwise seeking to save themselves scatteringly. "For remaining together, Cæsar would less despise them, if they would make war against him: and would also sooner pardon them, if they craved mercy of him. Therefore he counselled them to determine what they would do, and for his own part, he said he would not mislike whatsoever they determined of: for if their minds followed their fortune, he would think this change to proceed of the necessity of time. But if they were resolved to withstand their misfortune, and to hazard themselves to defend their liberty: he then would not only commend them, but having their noble courage in admiration, would himself be their chieftain and companion, even to

prove the fortune of their country to the uttermost. The which was not Utica, nor Adramyttium, but the city self of Rome: the which oftentimes through her greatness, had raised her self from greater dangers and calamities. Furthermore, that they had many ways to save themselves, and the greatest mean of all was this: that they should make war with a man, who by reason of his wars was compelled to be in many places. For Spain of the one side was up against him, and took part with the younger Pompey: and the city of Rome also not being used to be bridled with the snaffle of such insolency, could not abide it, but would rather rise with any other change. Furthermore, that they were not to refuse any danger, but to take example of their enemy: who, to work his mischievous intent, spareth not his person in any danger. And contrarily also, that unto them, the uncertainty of the war, if victory followed, would make them happy, as also in being overthrown, their death would turn to immortal glory. Notwithstanding, they were to think of the matter among themselves, and to make their prayers to the gods, that in recompense of their vertue and good service which they had shewed thitherunto, they would grant them grace to determine for the best." After Cato had ended his oration, there were divers of them that were stirred up by his lively persuasions, but the most part of them were encouraged by his constancy and noble mind, and also by his kindness: so that they presently forgot the danger they were in, and prayed him to command their persons, goods, and weapons, as he thought good, taking him for their only

The equity of Cato

Cato forsaken of the Roman merchants

invincible captain, of whom Fortune had no power, thinking it better to die obeying his counsel, than to save themselves, forsaking so valiant and worthy a man. Then, when one of the assembly made a motion that they should make their bondmen free, and that divers also did confirm it, Cato said he would by no means suffer it, because it was neither meet nor lawful: howbeit if their masters would manumiss them, that he was contented to receive them for soldiers, that could wear any weapon. Divers promised him to do it: and Cato commanded their names should be enrolled that would, and so went his way. Immediately after, letters were brought him from King Juba, and Scipio: of the which, King Juba was hidden in a mountain with few men with him, who sent unto him to know what he would determine to do. For if he meant to forsake Utica, he would tarry him there: and if otherwise he determined to keep Utica, then that he would come and help him with an army. Scipio on the other side riding at anker, at a point of the land not far from Utica, stayed for the like answer. Then Cato thought it best to stay the messengers which had brought him their letters, till he saw what was the determination of the three hundred. For all they that were Senators of Rome, were very glad men, and did presently make their bondmen free, and gave them weapons. But the other three hundred which were merchant venturers, and that lived by usury and exchange, who had the most part of their goods in slaves and bondmen, did not long follow Cato's counsel: but like men, whose bodies soon receive heat, and are soon cold again, when they are once gone from the fire: even

so those merchants, while Cato was present among them, had some good pretty will and desire: but when by themselves they had cast their account, the fear they had of Cæsar, made them forget the reverence they bare unto Cato, and unto their duty. For, said they, what are we, and what is he whom we disdain to obey? Is it not Cæsar himself, who at this day is lord and emperor of Rome? Never a one of us is Scipio, Pompey, nor Cato: and yet now, when all men for fear (and in manner compelled) do yield and submit themselves, we will needs take upon us within the walls of Utica to fight for the liberty of Rome against him, for whom, Cato flying with Pompey, forsook Italy: and we now make our bondmen free to fight with Cæsar, having no better liberty our selves, than it pleaseth him to give us. Let us therefore now know our selves whilst we have time, and crave mercy at his hands that is the stronger, and send unto him, to pray him to pardon us. The greatest and wisest men of those three hundred merchants, had this speech. But the most part of them sought means how to entrap the Senators, hoping the better of mercy at Cæsar's hand, if they did deliver them unto him. Cato did look for this change in them, but yet uttered not that he thought, and returned the messengers back again unto King Juba, and Scipio, and wrote unto them: That they should beware they came not near Utica, because he did mistrust these three hundred merchants. Now there were a great number of horsemen which had escaped from the battell, who coming towards Utica, sent three of their company unto Cato, the which brought him not one self determination from all the com-

Cato's pity and regard

unto the Senators

pany. For some of them went to go unto King Juba, others also to join with Cato, and part of them were afraid to come into Utica. These things being thus reported unto Cato, he commanded Marcus Rubrius to take care of these three hundred men, and to receive the names of the bondmen which they willingly manumissed, without compelling of any man. In the meantime, Cato with all the Senators went out of Utica to meet with these horsemen, and there he spake to the captains, and prayed them that they would not forsake so many noblemen and Senators of Rome as were there: and that they would not have King Juba for their captain before Cato, but to come into Utica: where they might save themselves the city was of such strength, and besides, so well armed and victualled for many years. The like request did the Senators also make unto them, with the tears running down their cheeks. Thereupon the captains went and spake with their soldiers. Cato in the meantime sat him down on a little hill, with the Senators, tarrying for answer. But then on the sudden came Rubrius unto him in great haste, complaining of the tumult of these three hundred merchants, which went about to make the city to rebel: whereupon, the rest their hearts failing them, fell to bewail their miserable fortune. But Cato sought to comfort them, and then sent unto the three hundred merchants, to pray them to have a little patience. So the captains returned again with unreasonable demands of the horsemen. For they said, that they cared not for King Juba's pay, neither were they afraid of Cæsar's malice, so that they had Cato for their general: yet to be pent up within the walls of a city with Africans, that

were Phœnicians, and a traitorous nation as could be: that grieved them most of all. For, said they, though now they stir not, and be quiet: yet when Cæsar comes, they will be the first that will betray us, and cut our throats. And therefore, if Cato would have them to join with him in this war: that he should either kill or drive away all the Uticans out of the city, and then that they would come into it, when it was clear of all those barbarous people their enemies. Cato thought this a cruel and barbarous condition, nevertheless he told them that he would talk with the three hundred: and so returning again into Utica, he spake unto them. But they then not regarding the reverence unto Cato, dissembling no longer, said openly, That they would not like of him whatsoever he were, that should compel them to make war with Cæsar, both because they would not, nor could not do it. Further, there were some of them that mumbled to themselves, that the Senators should be kept there, till Cæsar came. Cato overheard them, for indeed his hearing was not very quick. At that very instant one came to him, and told him, that the horsemen were going their way. Cato therefore fearing lest these three hundred merchants would lay hands upon the Senators: he went unto them himself with his friends, and perceiving they were gone a great way off, he took his horse and rode after them. They rejoicing to see him come, received him among them, and prayed him to save himself with them. But Cato prayed them again to save the Senators, and that with such affection, as it forced tears in him, besides, he held up his hands unto them, took their horses by the bridles, and themselves by their

Cato an earnest suitor for the Senators

The sincerity of Cato

weapons, that at length he obtained of them, that they would remain there one day at the least, to help the Senators to save themselves. So Cato returning with them into the city, he appointed some of them to ward at the gates, and put others also in garrison into the castell: so that the three hundred merchants quaked for fear, lest he would have been revenged of them, because of their return with him. Thereupon they sent unto Cato, humbly to pray him to come unto them in any case. But the Senators flocking about him, would not suffer him to go, and said, That they would not cast away their saviour and protector, to put him into traitors' hands. Then doubtless, all that were within Utica, plainly saw the vertue and simplicity of Cato, and found that there was no fraud nor deceit in him: who having long time resolved to kill himself, he only took that extreme pains and care for others that their lives being saved, he might then rid himself of his own. For men might easily see, though he dissembled it, that he was resolved to die. Whereupon, having comforted the Senators, he yielded unto the requests of the three hundred merchants, and went himself alone unto them. Then they thanked him much for his coming, and prayed him to command them, and boldly to trust them: so that he would pardon them if they could not be all Catos, and would take pity of their faint hearts, though they were not so constant and noble-minded as he. For they were determined to send unto Cæsar, specially to entreat him for him: and if that they could not obtain pardon for him, then they were assured they could have none for themselves, and therefore would fight for the safety of him, while

they had any breath in their bodies. Cato thanking them for their good-wills, answered: That they should send quickly to crave pardon for themselves, but to ask none for him. For said he, men that be overcome, and have offended, it standeth them upon to make humble suit, and to crave pardon: but for himself, he was never overcome in his life, and yet had overcome as much as he desired, and had always been better than Cæsar in justice, who only (not himself) was now taken and overcome: the thing being apparently proved in sight against him, which he had always denied to have practised against his country. When he had made this answer unto the three hundred merchants he departed from them. News being brought that Cæsar was in his way with all his army, coming towards Utica: O gods, said he, then he cometh against us, as against men. Then turning unto the Senators, he gave them counsel quickly to save themselves, whilst the horsemen were yet in the city. So shutting all the gates of the city, saving that towards the haven: he appointed ships for them all, and set everything at a stay, without tumult or disorder, no man having injury offered him, and gave every one money to make way for their safety. When Marcus Octavius (who came with two legions, and camped hard by Utica) sent unto Cato, to determine which of them two should be general: he made no answer, but turning to his friends said: How can we wonder any more that all goeth to wrack with us, sith there is such ambition amongst us for the government, even now, when we are at the last cast? In the mean time word was brought him, how the horsemen going their

Cato's mind unconquerable

Cato reproveth the ambition of men

way were spoiling of the citizens' goods, as a lawful prey in war. He straight ran thither himself, and the first he met withal, he took from them that they had gotten. The rest, before he came unto them, threw down that they were carrying away, and hanging down their heads for shame, they went their way, and said nothing. Then Cato calling all the citizens of Utica together, prayed them not to incense nor move Cæsar against the three hundred, but rather to crave of him pardon for them all. Then he went again to the pier, and there embracing his friends, and taking his leave of them all, he brought them to their ships. Now for his son, he did not counsel him to go, neither did he think it meet to urge him to forsake his father. Furthermore, there was one Statilius a young man in his company, of a noble courage, that was determined to follow the invincible constancy of Cato: who counselled him to take the sea, and to sail away with the rest, because he knew he was Cæsar's mortal enemy. Statilius said he would not go. Then Cato turning him unto Apollonides a Stoick philosopher, and unto Demetrius a Peripatetick philosopher, said: You must take this stout young man, to persuade him to obey unto necessity. Cato himself in the meantime sent away the rest, and did minister justice unto them that required it: spending all that night, and the next day, about those matters. Then Lucius Cæsar, the kinsman of Julius Cæsar the Conqueror, being chosen by the three hundred, to go and make suit unto him for them all, came and prayed Cato to help him to make his oration, which he should say unto Cæsar for them all: And

it. Then looking by his bedside, and missing his sword (which his son had taken from him when he was at supper) he called one of the grooms of his chamber to him, and asked him who had taken his sword away: his man made him no answer, and he fell again to read his book. Then a pretty while after, not seeming to be importunate, or overhasty of the matter, but as though he would only know what became of it: he willed them to bring him his sword again. They tarried long, and he had read over all the book, but yet his sword was not brought him again. Whereupon he called for all his men one after another, and very angrily asked them his sword, and gave one of them such a blow in the face, that his nose fell a-bleeding, and his hand was all bloody withal, and cried out that his son and his servants would deliver him naked into the hands of his enemy: until his son and friends at length ran unto him, and falling down on their knees, lamented, and besought him to be contented. Cato then rising out of his bed, looked grimly upon them, and said unto them: O gods, who ever saw me in this taking? Why doth no man by reason persuade me, if they see me out of the way: and not to keep me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why dost not thou bind thy father (my son) his hands behind him, that when Cæsar cometh, he may find me in case not to defend my self? I do not desire my sword to hurt my self, for if I had any such mind, I need but hold my breath a little, or give but a knock of my head against the wall only, and despatch my self quickly. When he had said thus, his son went out of his chamber weeping, and all

Cato considered his sword

Plato's dialogue of the soul

he had always used after the battell of Pharsalia, and never lay, but when he went to bed; and he had all his friends, and the chief magistrates of Utica to supper with him. After supper, they fell into grave talk and matters of philosophy: till at length they came unto the strange opinion of the Stoick philosophers, which was this: that only the good man is free, and all the evil be slaves. The Peripatetick philosopher that was present there, was straight against it. But Cato was very earnest against the Peripatetick, and argued the matter a long time, with a vehement speech and contention: insomuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to end his life, and to rid him himself out of all those troubles. But then when he had ended his argument, and saw that every man held his peace, and looked sadly of it: to comfort them again, and to put the suspicion of his death out of their heads: he began again to fall in talk of their affairs, and seemed to be careful of them, as though he had been affrayed lest some misfortune were come unto them upon the sea, or unto them that were gone by land, because they passed through deserts, where there was no water to be had. Now when supper was done, and the strangers gone, he walked as his manner was with his friends, and having taken order with the captains of the watch for matters of service, as the time required: going into his chamber he embraced his son and his friends more lovingly than he was wont to do, whereby he made them again suspect the execution of his determination. When he was come into his chamber and laid in his bed, he took Plato's dialogues in hand treating of the soul, and read the most part of

it. Then looking by his bedside, and missing his sword (which his son had taken from him when he was at supper) he called one of the grooms of his chamber to him, and asked him who had taken his sword away: his man made him no answer, and he fell again to read his book. Then a pretty while after, not seeming to be importunate, or overhasty of the matter, but as though he would only know what became of it: he willed them to bring him his sword again. They tarried long, and he had read over all the book, but yet his sword was not brought him again. Whereupon he called for all his men one after another, and very angrily asked them his sword, and gave one of them such a blow in the face, that his nose fell a-bleeding, and his hand was all bloody withal, and cried out that his son and his servants would deliver him naked into the hands of his enemy: until his son and friends at length ran unto him, and falling down on their knees, lamented, and besought him to be contented. Cato then rising out of his bed, looked grimly upon them, and said unto them: O gods, who ever saw me in this taking? Why doth no man by reason persuade me, if they see me out of the way: and not to keep me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why dost not thou bind thy father (my son) his hands behind him, that when Cæsar cometh, he may find me in case not to defend my self? I do not desire my sword to hurt my self, for if I had any such mind, I need but hold my breath a little, or give but a knock of my head against the wall only, and despatch my self quickly. When he had said thus, his son went out of his chamber weeping, and all

Cato considered his sword

wherewith he killed himself

his friends also, no man remaining with Cato, but Demetrius and Apollonides, unto whom he spake more gently, and reasoned in this sort. What, do you think to keep an old man as I am, alive by force? And have you tarried behind but to sit staring upon me, and say nothing unto me? If otherwise else, by reason you come to persuade me, that it shall be no shame for Cato, despairing of the safety of his life, to seek it by the grace and mercy of his enemy: why then do you not now tell me your reasons to persuade me, that forsaking all other fancies and determinations which hitherunto we have holden for good, being on a sudden become wiser by Cæsar's means, we should be bound the more therefore to give him thanks? I do not tell you this that I have determined anything of my life, but that it is in my power (if I list) to put the thing in execution I have determined: but yet I will consult with you, when I am so determined, to hear the reasons and opinion of your books, which your selves do use in discourse and argument together. Go your way therefore hardily unto my son, and tell him, that he must not think to compel his father unto that, which he cannot prove good unto him by reason. After this talk, Demetrius and Apollonides being nothing comforted, weeping, departed out of his chamber. Then his sword was brought him by a little boy. When he had it, he drew it out, and looked whether the point and edge of his sword was sharp and would cut: when he saw it was well, O, said he, now I am where I would be, and so laying down the sword naked by him, he took his book again in his hand, and read it over (as they say) twice together.

Then he slept so soundly after it, that his men which were without his chamber heard him snort again. About midnight, he called for two of his freemen, Cleanthes his physician, and Butas, whom he chiefly employed in his weightiest affairs of the commonwealth. So he sent him unto the haven to see, if all his men that were embarked were under sail: and gave his hand to the physician to be bound up, because it was swollen with the blow he gave one of his slaves when he hit him on the face. All his servants were glad to hear of that, hoping then that he desired to live. Soon after came Butas back again from the haven, and brought him word that all were gone but Crassus, who stayed about some business he had, and yet that he was going to take ship: howbeit that the sea was very rough, and wind exceeding great. Cato hearing this, sighed, being sorry for them that were upon the sea: and sent Butas back again to the haven, to see if any man came back for any matter they had to say unto him. The little birds began to chirp, and Cato fell again in a little slumber. But thereupon Butas returned, and brought him word that all was quiet in the haven, and there was no stir. Then Cato, bade him go his way, and shut-to the door after him, and laid him down in his bed, as though he had meant to have slept out all the rest of the night. Butas' back was no sooner turned, but Cato taking his naked sword in his hand, thrust it into his breast: howbeit the swelling of his hand made the blow so weak, that it killed him not presently, but drawing on to his latter end, he fell down upon his bed, and made such a noise with his fall (overthrowing a little table of geometry hard by his bed)

The death of Cato

Cato's funerals

that his servants hearing the noise, gave a great shriek for fear. Thereupon his son and his friends ran into the chamber, and found him all of a gore-blood, and the most part of his bowels coming out of his body, himself being yet alive and seeing them. They were all stricken with such sorrow to behold it, that at the first they were so amazed, as they could not tell what to say to it. His physician coming to him, he went about to put in his bowels again which were not perished, and to sew up his wound. But Cato coming to himself, thrust back the physician, and tore his bowels with his own hands, and made his wound very great, and immediately gave up the ghost. Whereupon the three hundred Romans (in less time than a man would have thought Cato's own household servants could have known of his death) were at his doors, and immediately after, all the people of Utica also came thither, and with one voice called Cato their benefactor and saviour, and said he only was a free man, and had an invincible mind: and this was done, when they heard say that Cæsar was not far from Utica. Furthermore, neither fear of the present danger, nor the desire to flatter the conqueror, neither any private quarrel amongst themselves, could keep them from honouring Cato's funerals. For, sumptuously setting out his body, and honourably accompanying his funerals as might be, they buried him by the seaside, where at this present time is to be seen his image, holding a sword in his hand. After that they made their best way to save themselves and their city. Now Cæsar being advertised by them that came unto him, how Cato stirred not from Utica, nor fled not but sent all others

away, saving himself and his son, and a few of his friends that remained there, being afraid of nothing: he could not devise what he meant by it. Therefore esteeming Cato much, he made haste with all the speed he could with his army, to come thither. But when he understood that Cato had slain himself, writers do report he said thus: O Cato, I envy thy death, sith thou hast envied mine honour to save thy life. For indeed, had Cato been contented Cæsar should have saved his life, he had not so much impaired his own honour, as he had augmented Cæsar's glory. And yet what Cæsar would have done, men make it doubtful, saving that they conjecture well of Cæsar's clemency. Cato died when he was but eight-and-forty years old. For his son, Cæsar never did him hurt: howbeit it is reported of him, that he was very idly given, and lascivious besides. For when he lay in Cappadocia, in a nobleman's house of the king's blood, called Marphadates, who had a fair woman to his wife: he tarried longer there than he might well with honesty, whereupon he fell to be a laughing-stock to the people, and in mockery they said, Cato will go to-morrow, a thirty days hence. And further, that Marphadates and Porcius are two good friends, but they have but one mind. And the reason was because Marphadates' wife was called Psyche, which in the Greek signifieth, mind: and Cato is a noble fellow, and hath a princely mind, howbeit his famous death did stop this infamous speech. For he valiantly fighting against Augustus, and Antonius, at the battell of Philippi, for the liberty of his country: their army being overthrown and fled, he would neither fly nor hide himself, but running in

Cæsar's saying unto Cato dead

The death of Porcia

amongst his enemies, he made them know what he was, by encouraging those of his side, which yet did defend themselves, till he was slain in the field, to the great admiration of his valiantness. Furthermore, Porcia, the daughter of Cato, gave no place unto her father, neither for chastity, nor greatness of mind. For she being married unto Brutus, who slew Cæsar, was of the conspiracy, and slew her self as courageously as became the vertue and nobility of her blood from whence she came, as we have more amply declared in the life of Brutus. Statilius also, who had said he would run Cato's fortune (as we have told you before) was kept from killing of himself by the philosophers, Demetrius, and Apollonides. But after that time having shewed himself very faithful and serviceable unto Brutus in all his affairs, he was slain in the field also at the battell of Philippi.

THE END OF CATO'S LIFE.

EPILOGUE

EXACTING indeed would that man be, who should ask more dramatic or historical interest than is seen in the lives of Cæsar and Alexander. Each is in manner the flower and epitome of a great nation. We shall hardly echo ancient ignorance and prejudice so far as to deny Alexander the title of Greek, because he sprang from a half-savage outlying tribe of the Hellenic race, and aspired to lead that race on a new path. Indeed, he shares with Epaminondas, and perchance one or two others, the statesmanlike conception of Greece one and united. It was not to be expected that those Grecian states which had been long civilised, and had behind them a great record of warlike prowess or literary achievement, should recognise that the day of their vigour had gone by, and that it was time to yield place. Alexander to them was a tyrant, or at best a mushroom upstart; but though he swept ruthlessly away all that stood in his path, yet he conquered his countrymen not to tyrannise over them, but to use them in his far-reaching schemes. If success intoxicated him, if ambition realised did but inflame ambition, in this he showed himself akin to Miltiades and Themistocles, to Pausanias and Lysander. Could Nature have made him wise like Solon, or calm like Epaminondas and Pericles, he might have built up one lasting empire, instead of giving the impulse to half

a dozen. But Nature may make a diamond without flaw; she never makes a man so. Thus we have instead of perfection this spoilt child of fortune, this brilliant and fiery being, whose real deeds sound like a fairy tale, whose name has for thousands of years been the centre of countless legends and romances. What now concerns us, however, is not his deeds so much as himself; and no one can read the story of Alexander without being attracted by his wonderful charm. Not even those outbursts of violent passion we read of, can blind us to his moral strength in an age of license; his memory has the sweet savour which the story gives to his body. Friends could not but love a friend so generous, or soldiers a leader so chivalrous and brave. One noble deed has made Philip Sidney immortal, but Alexander did it before him; and if Alexander's name does not so inevitably call up the cup of cold water, perhaps the reason is, that with him it did not stand alone.

Posterity has been kind to the name of Alexander, but has dealt more hardly with Julius Cæsar. Not to admire his strength of will and intellect is impossible, and yet there have been many who have thought him a cruel and unscrupulous tyrant, one who cared nothing for his country and shed oceans of blood without cause. Yet in point of fact, what act of Cæsar's do we find like Alexander's massacre of Indian soldiers under safe conduct? If he had ordered a proscription of his opponents, he would have done nothing unusual; instead, he pardoned them freely, not only those whom he might well despise, but such as golden-tongued Cicero, and the very man who afterwards murdered him. In war he never took life needlessly; he was merciful by nature and of set purpose. "Cæsar's

clemency," says Boissier, "is admired with good reason. For the first time a ray of humanity had been seen to shine in the midst of the pitiless wars of the ancient world." His love for Rome is made clear by his acts in those few short years when he was supreme; and who shall say what he had yet in his mind? But for that criminal blunder, by which he was cut off, Cæsar might have devised a constitution for Rome as far superior to the Empire as he was greater than Augustus. Add to this greatness of mind that genius in oratory and literature, that intelligent interest in law and science, and we see one who truly bestrides the narrow world like a Colossus. That is the impression which Shakespeare got of Cæsar, when he used this very book as material for his great historical play. He follows the story as Plutarch tells it even more closely than in Coriolanus; and borrows in many places the words and phrases of North.

In such company we are apt to overlook lesser fry, yet men like Phocion and Cato are worth study. Phocion's last words to his son would alone set him high among men; and be it remembered that he spoke untaught, not like Stephen and many since, with an echo of that prayer which has rung through the whole world. Cato, with his modesty, and his gentle discipline, offers a pleasing contrast to his coarse and brutal namesake the Censor. But we cannot linger on these, or on those pithy and humorous sayings which make them live before us again.

EDITORIAL NOTE

NORTH'S *Plutarch* was first published in 1579, and at once it became popular, as many as seven new editions appearing within the century following the first publication. Another translation bears the name of Dryden, who wrote the Introduction to it; and in latter days the translation of John and William Langhorne has been most widely read. Several of the Lives have also been translated by George Long. In point of accuracy, North's version (being made from the French, and not from the Greek direct) cannot compare with the Langhornes' or with Long's; but as a piece of English style it is far to be preferred before any other.

The present issue is based on the first edition of 1579, but in a few instances (which are pointed out in the Notes) an improvement has been adopted from one of the later editions. The spelling has been modernised, except in a few words where it testifies to the ancient pronunciation; but old grammatical forms have been kept unchanged. The proper names are spelt in an erratic manner by North, and are here corrected in accordance with common usage; except in a few words which all know, where North has englished the ending, as

Delphes. Where, however, North is not always consistent (as in the endings *-ion* and *-ium*), the Editor has not felt bound to be so, but has kept as close to the original as possible.

The Notes draw attention to the chief places where North has mistaken the meaning of Amyot, or Amyot has mistranslated the Greek; and to those places where the translators had a reading different from the received text, that of Sintenis being taken as the standard. The shoulder-notes have been taken as far as possible from North's marginalia.

NOTES

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11. '*τὴν ἐκ*, etc.' N. adds a note from A.: 'Some think that this place should be meant of the rich coffer, that was found among King Darius' jewels, in the which Alexander would have all Homer's works kept.'
12. 'Medarians': corrected to 'Mædans' in Sintenis by conjecture.
14. 'Pexodorus': emended in Sintenis to Pixodarus.
22. 'Dæsius,' which N. writes Dason, is not in A.; which goes to show that N. sometimes referred to the Greek text. So with Artemisius.
30. 'Pindarus': so the Vulgate; Sintenis accepts the emendation Pinarus.
36. 'and for every day': ed. 1 reads 'of.'
50. 'Gausamela': so the Vulgate. Sintenis accepts the emendation Gaugamela, which was the real name of the village.
51. 'dromedary': spelt in a later edition (1595) 'drumbledary.'
'Apollo': the Vulgate reading. Sintenis reads 'to fear,' Φόβῳ for Φοίβῳ; Amyot notes the variant in his margin. Niphates was a mountain chain. The mistake is Amyot's.
54. The eagle was the sacred bird of Zeus.
57. 'Maund or chalk': A. has: *Ce Naphthe est vne mortiere, qui ressemble proprement au bitume.*
59. 'force of naphtha': 'In this place there lack certain lines in the Greek original.' *N. from A.* Sintenis also marks a lacuna.
64. 'jest': ed. 1595 writes 'slent' (same meaning).
73. There are doubts as to the reading of the names of several of these historians, and some are otherwise unknown.

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75. 'take Alexander from me': the meaning is, that his friend was as himself.

77. 'Balinus': as the Vulgate.

95. The 1595 edition makes the astonishing statement, that "Many writers do agree, that Porus was four cubits and a shaft length higher and bigger than the elephant, although the elephant was very great, and as big as a horse."

97. 'Gangarides': the Greek text has Gandaritæ.

100. Gymnosophistæ means the Naked Sophisters, who were doubtless in habits like to the modern Fakeers.

103. 'Psitulcis': the Greek has Ψιλτοῦκιν, Psiltucis.

110. 'other Persians': *i.e.* 'other, who were Persians.'

119. 'Marians': 'many Mariuses' literally.

130. The women do not 'make' the holy dragon, but merely place it.

131. 'Abra': the word means 'handmaiden,' whether it be as some think foreign, or simply the Greek word for 'delicate': ἁβρά.

143. 'Arar': N. writes 'Arax' by a blunder, but A. has it right.

154. 'sea Adriatick': 'Some say, that in this place is to be read in the Greek πρὸς τὸν Ἄραριν, which is, to the river of Saone.' *N.* from *A.* Sintenis has Ἄραρα, the same river as Ἄραρις.

155. 'Alexia': so both translations. The Greek text has Ἀλησίαν, Alesia.

157. 'who only did see,' *i.e.* 'who alone.'

164. 'A desperate man': *N.* has a note taken from *A.*: 'The Greek useth this phrase of speech, Cast the die.'

178. 'sodain fear': the Greek word is πανικός, 'panic,' because Pan was supposed to cause madness.

201. Brutus means 'stupid'; hence the allusions in the succeeding pages.

214 This comparison is not in the Greek or in Amyot.

245. 'Prætor': the Greek word is στρατηγία, the office of general.

249. A long beard was sign of a philosopher.

'should say': 'should' is the mark of reported speech, like German *soll*.

258. '*chærin*': χαίρειν. Note how Amyot spells the final, which shows that he pronounced ει as French *i*.

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287. 'He suffers': an allusion to the Greek proverb, παθήματα μαθήματα, 'feelings are learnings.'

298. 'some write': North adds this note, taken from Amyot: 'It seemeth to be meant of Cæsar, which wrote the book Anticaton.' For 'some wrote' the Greek has ἦν ὁ γράψας, 'there was he who wrote.' The sentence beginning 'but such' is obscurely put. The Greek means: 'thus he granted license and impunity not only to the sword, but to the pen.'

304. justest man of them': the books read 'the justest man one of them,' which I do not understand. Whether N. corrected his first version, and the two got mixed up; or whether 'one' has crept in from the next phrase: the text seems to be wrong, and I omit the 'one.'

369. 'overheard': A. has *ne fit pas semblant de l'avoir ouy*, a correct translation of the Greek. Probably 'overhear' like 'overlook' may imply intention.

374. 'Plato's dialogues': the *Phædo*.

VOCABULARY

D, well, with a will, 9.
, deceive, 160.
S, a city on the Asiatic shore of Hellespont.
MICS, a school of philosophy ded by Plato, and modified al times after him.
LES, the great hero of the ks in the Trojan War.
ERAUNIANS, the cliffs and ntains on the west coast of us.
TURE, chance, 70.
ES, son of Æacus.
ES, son of Arymbas, king of us, took part with Olympias st Cassander, killed 313 B.C.
LUS, 525–456 B.C., first of the Athenian tragic poets.
NCE, trust, 9.
MNON, king of Mycenæ, ed the "wrath of Achilles," by g away from him Briseïs, a ve maiden.
AUS, king of Sparta 398–360 fought in Asia Minor against Persians with great success 396- defeated the allied Greeks at nea 394, crossed to Egypt 361, ied there.
ADES, about 450–404, B.C., an nian statesman and general, us for his beauty, profligacy, r, and success.
, a town in Gallia Lugdunensis.
, amaze, thunderstrike, 263.
D, thunderstruck, 39.
NS, a tribe of female warriors sia Minor.
RCHUS, of Abdera, a philo- r of the school of Democritus, found favour with Alexander.
f, 91.
, the Anio, an affluent of the r.
TIDES, an Athenian writer of the h century B.C.

ANTIGENES, an officer of Alexander's, after his death satrap of Susiana, burnt alive by Antigonus 316 B.C.
ANTILIBAN, Anti-Lebanon, the range of hills parallel to Lebanon on the E. of Hollow Syria.
ANTIOCH, capital of Syria.
ANTIPATER, a Macedonian, regent of Macedon for Alexander, defeated the Greeks at Crannon 322 B.C., died 319.
ANTIPATER OF TYRE, a Stoic philosopher, who wrote a book on Duties. He died about 45 B.C.
ANTONIUS, MARCUS, the Triumvir, born about 83 B.C., an enemy of Cicero, partisan of Cæsar, defeated at Mutina 43, Triumvir with Octavianus and Lepidus 43, defeated by Octavianus at Actium 31, fled with Cleopatra, killed himself 30.
AÖUS, a river of Epirus.
APELLES, the most famous painter of antiquity, fourth century B.C. One of his most celebrated pictures was Alexander wielding a thunderbolt.
APOLLO, god of wisdom and prophecy, later also of the sun. Ismenius was his title in Thebes.
APPIAN WAY, a road from Rome to Capua, afterwards extended as far as Brindisi, the first part made by Appius Claudius when Censor 312 B.C.
APOLLONIA, a city of Illyria (Epirus), on the river Aöus.
ARAR, a tributary of the Rhone, rising in the Vosges.
ARCHILOCHUS, of Paros, a lyric poet and satirist, flourished about 700 B.C.
AREOPAGITES, the senate of "Mars' Hill," the Hill of Ares, a most ancient and venerable court of Athens, but without much power.
ARIMINUM, Rimini.
ARISTANDER, soothsayer of Alexander the Great.

ARISTIDES, a Greek of unknown date, who wrote a licentious romance called *Milesiaca*.

ARISTOBULUS, of Cassandrea, served under Alexander in Asia, and wrote a history of his reign.

ARISTOTLE, of Stagira, the great philosopher, fourth century B.C.

ARISTOXENUS, of Tarentum, a Peripatetic philosopher and musician, fourth century B.C.

ARRHIDÆUS, 'King Philip's bastard, begotten of a common strumpet, Philima.'—*N.* After Alexander's death he was made king under the name of Philip, and in 317 Olympias had him killed.

ASGANDES, a Persian word for courier. (This is what the MSS. read, but Sintenis emends to Astandes, which is nearer the real Persian word.)

ASINIUS POLLIO, C., orator and historian 76 B.C. to A.D. 4, joined Cæsar, fought at Pharsalia 49, in Africa and Spain; in 43 supported the triumvirate of Antony, Lepidus, and Octavianus; patron of Virgil.

ASTONIED, stunned, 99.

ATHENODORUS, of Tarsus, a Stoic, the librarian of Pergamus, afterwards lived with Cato at Rome.

ATHOS, a mountain promontory N. of the Ægean Sea.

ATIUS VARUS, P., one of the Pompeian party, defeated Cæsar's legate in Africa, fell at Munda 45 B.C.

ATTALUS, uncle of Cleopatra whom Philip of Macedon married, 337 B.C. He was executed on Alexander's succession by his order.

AWAY WITH, endure, 137.

AX-TREE, axle, 27.

BACCHERIANS, Bacchants, revellers.

BACCHUS, Greek god of wine.

BAN, curse, 283.

BASILICK, BASILICA, a kind of public hall or exchange. There was a famous one near the forum, called the Basilica Pauli Æmilii, or B. Æmilia, built on the site of the B. Æmilia et Fulvia.

BATTELL, often used of a division of army, 178.

BEAR THE BELL, to win a contest, to be the first, 105.

BECAUSE, in order that, 41.

BEDLAM, madman, 75.

BELUS, BEL, a Persian deity.

BESSUS, satrap of Bactria, got hold of Darius, killed him, and took the title of king. He was betrayed to Alexander, who put him to death.

BESTRAUGHT, distracted, 4.

BIBBER, drinker, 35.

BLURT, a mark of contempt, 276.

BRAVERY, defiance, boasting, 77.

BRIGANDINE, BRIGANTAIL, a pliable coat made of leather with small plates of iron sewed upon it, 53.

BRUTUS, L. Junius, nephew of Tarquin the Proud, saved his life by feigning idiocy. He was a chief mover in the revolt against the kings, 510 B.C.

BRUTUS, M., joined Pompey 49 B.C.; pardoned by Cæsar after Pharsalia, 48; murdered Cæsar, 44.

BUDGETS, bags or skins, 59.

BYZANTIUM, a Greek colony on the site of Constantinople.

CADMEA, the citadel of Thebes, in Bœotia.

CALAURIA, an island in the Saronic Gulf, off Trœzen.

CALLISTHENES OF OLYNTHUS, a kinsman and pupil of Aristotle, accused of being privy to a plot against Alexander, and died in prison.

CAMBYSES, son of Cyrus, second king of Persia, reigned 529–522 B.C. In 525 he conquered Egypt, but lost an army sent against Ammon.

CAPITOL, one of the seven hills of Rome, where stood the Castle and the Temple of Jupiter.

CARANUS, a brother of Phidon, about 750 B.C. founded the Macedonian dynasty.

CARMANIA, a province of ancient Persia.

CARRIAGE, baggage, 89.

CASCA, P. SERVILIUS, tribune of the people 44 B.C.; one of the murderers of Cæsar.

CASSANDER, son of Antipater, after whose death he fought against Poly-

sperchon and against Antigonus, smoothed his path by treacherous murders, took the title of king 306 B.C., after the Ipsus 301 obtained Macedonia and Greece, died 297.

CASSOCK, shirt, tunic, cloak, 53.

CAST, device (a hunting metaphor): at his last cast, at extremity, 70.

CASTOR and POLLUX, twin sons of Leda, worshipped by the Romans. They had a temple in the forum. Invoked by seamen.

CATENUS, Q. FUFIUS, a partisan of Cæsar, joined Antony after Cæsar's murder, died 41 B.C.

CATILINE, L. SERGIUS CATILINA, a young noble who hatched a conspiracy 63 B.C., which was detected by Cicero; he escaped for the time, but fell in battle.

CATO, M. PORCIUS, called of Utica from the place of his death, 95–46 B.C., opposed Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus; after the battle of Thapsus had made his cause hopeless, he killed himself.

CATULUS, Q. LUTATIUS, Consul 78 B.C., defeated Lepidus at the Milvian Bridge, died 60.

CENCHREA, a port near Corinth in the Saronic Gulf.

CENTENIER, centurion, 116.

CEPHISODOTUS, of Athens, a statuary, fourth century B.C.

CERAMICUS, the Potters' Quarter of Athens, by the Dipylon Gate, wherein was the cemetery.

CETHEGUS, P. CORNELIUS, a friend of Marius, proscribed by Sulla, pardoned by Sulla 83 B.C.

CHABRIAS, of Athens, a general, who invented a new manœuvre; in command before Corinth 392 B.C., in Cyprus 388, off Naxos 376, commanded the Egyptian fleet against Persia 361; fell at Chios 357.

CHÆRONEA, in Bœotia, where Philip, father of Alexander the Great, defeated the Athenians and Bœotians, 338 B.C.

CHARES OF MYTILENE, wrote a history of Alexander's deeds.

CHARRET, chariot, 89.

CHERISH, coddle, 141.

CHERRONESUS, or CHERSONESUS, the tongue of land just N. of the Hellespont.

CHIOS, an island of the Ægean, near Smyrna.

CICERO, M. TULLIUS, the orator, statesman, and literary man, 106–43 B.C., as Consul in 63 crushed the rebellion of Catiline; banished 58; returned 57; opposed Cæsar, but was generously pardoned by him; killed by orders of Antony, 43.

CICERO, Q. TULLIUS, brother of the orator, 102–43; pro-prætor of Africa 61–59, went to Gaul with Cæsar 55, joined Pompey 49, proscribed 43, and slain.

CINNA, L. CORNELIUS, during Sulla's absence in the East, 87–84 B.C., leader of the popular party; took part in Marius' massacres; slain 84.

CLEONÆ, an ancient town between Corinth and Argos.

CLEOPATRA, daughter of Ptolemy Auletes, 68–31 B.C., married to her brother Ptolemy according to custom, driven from her kingdom, set on the throne by Cæsar, 47 B.C.; her husband perished in war; she became Cæsar's lover and bore him a son Cæsarion; in 41 she met Antony, and became his lover; after Actium killed herself.

CLEOPATRA, sister of Alexander the Great, and wife of Alexander, king of Epirus, who died 326 B.C. She was sought in marriage by several of Alexander's officers, but in fine was murdered by Antigonus.

CLITARCHUS, a historian, son of Dinon.

CLITUS, name of three officers in the Macedonian army. The third commanded Antipater's fleet in the Samian War 323 B.C., and the fleet of Polysperchon 318, in which capacity he was killed.

CLODIUS, P. CLODIUS, or CLAUDIUS PULCHER, a profligate and riotous young noble, enemy of Cicero, killed in a brawl by Milo 52 B.C.

COLOUR, pretext, 157.

COMMON, commune, 116.

COMPASS, circuit, 60.
CONCEIT, understanding, 287.
CONCEITED, witty, 64.
COPTANCT, COPPLETANKT, COPPINTANK, high-toped or peaked, 72.
CORDUBA, Cordova, in Spain.
CORFINIUM, a city in Samium.
CORFU, CORCYRA, a large island W. of continental Greece.
CORNIFICIUS, Q., Cæsar's quæstor in the civil war, governor of Syria 45 B.C., of Africa 44, killed in battle by T. Sextius.
CRANON, near Larissa in Thessaly.
CRASSUS, M. LICINIUS, led an army into Parthia, which was annihilated at Carrhæ, 53 B.C.
CRATERUS, a general of Alexander the Great, assisted Antipater in the Samian War, fell in 321 B.C.
CRAYER, a small bark, 297.
CROTON, a rich city in S. Italy.
CURACES, cuirass, body-armour, 99.
CURATES, cuirass, 248.
CURE, care, 96.
CURRER, courier, 154.
CYRENE, a Greek colony on the coast of Egypt.
CYCLOPES, a race of one-eyed giants.

DAMAS, Damascus, capital of Syria, at foot of Anti-Lebanon.
DARIUS, name of three kings of Persia. Darius III. Codomannus, reigned 336–331 B.C., was conquered by Alexander.
DEGREES, steps, 320.
DELPHES, DELPHI, in Phocis, seat of the oracle of Apollo Pythian.
DĒMĀDES, an Athenian orator, who favoured the Macedonians, put to death by Antipater 318 B.C.
DEMOSTHENES, the great Athenian orator and patriot, about 485–322 B.C., stirred up his countrymen to resist Philip, and in fleeing from Antipater, took poison to avoid capture.
DEPART, part, 317.
DIANA, Greek Artemis, virgin goddess of the wild woodland, daughter of Leto, and sister of Apollo. She is queen and huntress, chaste and fair, and bears a silver bow.
DINON, wrote a history of Persia.
DIOGENES, the Cynic, of Sinope, about 412–323 B.C.
DISTAIN, stain, 243.
DIVERS, different, 1.
DIVINEMENT, divination, 115.
DO: 'I do thee to understand,' I let thee know, 10.
DODONE, DODONA, seat of an ancient oracle of Zeus in Epirus.
DOLABELLA, CN. CORNELIUS, governor of Cilicia, condemned for extortion, 79 B.C.
DRACHMA, a silver coin about the size of a franc.
DRIFT, plan, 157.
DURIS OF SAMOS, a historian, wrote a History of Greece. He lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus.
DYRRHACHINON, a port on the W. of Greek Myria.

EAN, yean, bring forth, 90.
EASING, eaves, 142.
ECBATANA, a residence of the Persian kings.
EFTSOONS, soon, 188.
EKE, also, 245.
ELATEA, in Phocis, taken by Philip of Macedon, 338 B.C.
ELEMENT, upper air, 178.
ELEUSIS, a city near Athens, where the Mysteries were celebrated in honour of Demeter and Persephone.
ENSIGN, used of a regiment or company, 133.
ENVY, dislike, 184.
EPAMINONDAS, a Theban statesman and general, freed Thebes from the Spartans 379 B.C., commanded at Leuctra 371, founded Messene 369, conquered Spartans at Mantinea 362, where he was killed.
EPHORUS, of Cymæ in Æoliis, a Greek historian, fl. 340 B.C. He wrote a universal history.
EPICURUS, of Samos, 342–270 B.C., founder of a philosophy which cultivated 'life according to nature.' The followers of this school soon degenerated into sensualists.
EPIRUS, a district of N.-W. Greece.
ERATOSTHENES OF CYRENE, 276–196 B.C., librarian of Alexandria, a

writer and scholar. Amongst other things he wrote a History.

ESTATE, state, 156.

EUBŒA, or NEGROPONT, a large island off the coast of Bœotia.

EURIPIDES, 480–406 B.C., the third of the great Athenian tragic poets.

FARDEL, bundle, 185.

FARMERS, those who farmed the taxes, the "publicans," 307.

FAUNUS, a Roman deity of the woodland.

FAVONIUS, M., called 'Cato's ape' because he imitated him so, joined Pompey in 49 B.C., and was faithful to him until the end, when he was pardoned by Cæsar.

FEARFUL, cowardly, 185.

FELLOW, equal, 64.

FETCH, device, 177.

FINELY, finally, 239.

FOIST, a small bark or barge, 357.

FOND, foolish, 270.

FORCE, spring, 59.

FRANTIC, mad, 118.

FUMBLING, incoherent, 207.

FURNITURE, trappings, 156.

GARBOIL, uproar, 166.

GAUSAMELA, GAUGAMELA, a village in Assyria, where Alexander conquered Darius 331 B.C.

GIRD, jibe at, 248.

GNIDOS, CNIDOS, a promontory of Asia Minor, over against Cos.

GOBBET, piece of meat, mouthful, 248.

GORDIUS, an ancient king of Phrygia.

GRANICUS, a river falling into the Propontis, where Alexander conquered Darius 334 B.C.

GUIDON, a kind of standard, a division of soldiers, 23.

HÆMUS, a mountain range on the borders of Thrace.

HALICARNASSUS, now BUDRUN, an ancient city in Caria.

HAMPER, tie, bundle, 185.

HARNESS, armour, 95.

HARPALUS, a Macedonian, treasurer of Alexander in his Asiatic campaign. He robbed the treasury, and fled to Greece with a large body of men. His end was that he fled to Crete and was murdered there.

HECATÆUS, of Abdera, a philosopher and writer of the fourth century B.C.

HEGESIAS, of Magnesia, third century B.C., wrote a history of Alexander.

HEPHÆSTION, a bosom friend of Alexander the Great, who mourned greatly at his death in 325 B.C.

HERACLIDES PONTICUS, of Heraclea in Pontus, a pupil of Plato, wrote on philosophy, history, politics, mathematics, grammar, and poetry.

HERCULES, national hero of Greece. His labours were undertaken at the bidding of Eurystheus. They were: (1) Nemean lion, (2) Lernean hydra, (3) Arcadian stag, (4) Erymanthian boar, (5) cleansing of the stables of Augeas, (6) Stymphalian birds, (7) Cretan bull, (8) Mares of Diomedes, (9) Queen of Amazons' girdle, (10) oxen of Geryones, (11) golden apples of the Hesperides, (12) Cerberus brought up from Hades. After death he was deified.

HERCULES' PILLARS, the Strait of Gibraltar. Hercules was supposed to have set up a pillar on either side to show the limit of his travelling.

HERMIPPUS, of Smyrna, a philosopher and biographer, flourished about 200 B.C.

HERMOLAUS, a page of Alexander's. Angry at a punishment, he conspired against the king, was discovered, and slain.

HIGHT, was called, 41.

HOMER, the great epic poet of Greece; to him are ascribed the Iliad (of the siege of Troy and wrath of Achilles), and the Odyssey (of the wanderings of Ulysses). Modern critics believe these to have been written by at least two poets on the basis of popular ballads.

HORTENSIUS, Q., the orator, Cicero's rival, 114–50 B.C.

HOT-HOUSE, the hot room of a bath, 116.

HUMANITY, literature, 9.

HUMOUR: there were supposed to be

four humours, wet and dry, hot and cold, and each man to have his character determined by preponderance of one, or good tempering of them all.

HUNDRETH, hundred, 69.

HUSBANDRY, thrift, 259.

HYDASPES, a tributary of the Chenab, falling into the Indus.

HYPERIDES, an Athenian orator, slain 322 B.C.

IACCHUS, one of the personages in the Eleusinian Mysteries (not the name of the procession, as said on p. 271).

IDOMENEUS, of Lampsacus, third century B.C., a friend and disciple of Epicurus, author of philosophic and historical works now lost.

ILIUM, Troy.

INEXPUGNABLE, impregnable, 155.

INWARDLY, to heart, 109.

IPES, probably a false reading for Usipii, a Germanic tribe, 169.

ISSUS, a river at the gates of Cilicia, where Alexander conquered Darius 333 B.C.

JUBA, king of Mauretania.

JUBA, son of Juba, king of Mauretania, brought up at Rome, and became a learned historian. He wrote in Greek histories of Africa, Arabia, Assyria, and Rome.

JEOPARD, risk, 8.

JEOPARDY, danger, 66.

JUNO, Greek Hera, wife of Jupiter (Zeus), queen of the gods. There was a great temple of Hera in Samos.

JUPITER, Greek Zeus, king of the gods. A title of his was Capitoline, from the Roman Capitol, where he had a great temple. Jupiter Ammon had an oracle in the Libyan desert.

LABIENUS, T., a devoted adherent of Cæsar, his legatus in Gaul 58 B.C., and through the Gallic campaigns, and Cæsar's ablest officer; joined Pompey in 49, fought at Pharsalia 48, Thapsus 46, and Munda 45, where he was slain.

LÆLIUS, C., friend of Scipio African the younger, second century B.C. Cicero has made him immortal in his treatise On Friendship.

LAMENTABLE, mournful, 203.

LAMIA, in Thessaly, where Antipater was besieged by the Greeks 323 B.C.

LEAVE, cease, 321.

LEMAN, paramour, 285.

LENTULUS, P. CORNELIUS, joined in the plot of Catiline 63 B.C., and executed.

LEONNATUS, a Macedonian, one of the chief of Alexander's officers, after his death governor of Lesser Phrygia, fought with Antipater against the Greeks, and fell in battle.

LET, hinder, 55.

LETTERS-PATENT, open letters, decrees of an overlord, 276.

LIBETHRÆ, a town on the slope of Mount Olympus, where Orpheus was said to have lived.

LIVY, TITUS LIVIUS, of Patavium, 59 B.C. to A.D. 17, author of the History of Rome.

LOTH, unwilling, 239.

LUCULLUS, L. LICINIUS, conqueror of Mithridates, died about 57.

LUKE, LUCA, or LUCCA, in Italy, NE. of Pisa.

LURE: 'That whereto falconers call their young hawks, by casting it up in the air, being made of feathers and leather in such wise that in the motion it looks not unlike a fowl.' —*Latham*. Used metaphorically, 126.

LYCURGUS, an Attic orator, 396–323 B.C.

LYCURGUS, lawgiver of Sparta, who established the Spartan constitution, ninth century B.C.

LYSIPPUS, of Sicyon, fourth century B.C., a celebrated statuary.

MÆOTIS, Sea of Azov.

MALAPERTNESS, impudency, 82.

MALLIANS, a tribe whose chief city is supposed to have been on the site of Mooltan.

MANUMISS, set free, 366.

'ANE, 35: 'Marchpanes are of very little flour, but with on of greater quantity of fil- pine nuts, pistaces, almonds, rosed sugar.' — Markham's *rey Farme*.
, marsh, 139.
C., 157–86 B.C., a plebeian as seven times Consul, a dis- shed soldier, conqueror of the i and Teutons, instigator of assacres.
Roman god of war.
of Colchis, a sorceress, helped to win the golden fleece, and ith him. He afterwards tired , and married the daughter on, king of Corinth. Medea er a crown and robe, which put on burnt her to death.
, a city near Athens.
JS, C., prætor, 58 B.C., a poli- of the senatorial party, orator oet, but a profligate. Lucre- edicated his poem to Mem-

DER, one of the chief poets of tic New Comedy, or Comedy nners, fourth century B.C.
E, in the Peloponnese, capital ssenia, on Mount Ithome.
A, a city in Sicily, on the separating the island from

IUS PIUS SCIPIO, Q. CÆCILIUS, e 59 B.C., a supporter of Pom- or whom he fought at Phar- 48, defeated at Thapsus 46, he slew himself.
a mythical king of Phrygia, Gordius.
a town of Macedonia, near

S, an Ionian city on the coast a Minor.
weight or sum of money about in bullion to £4.
ING, diminishing, 19.
US THERMUS, Q., tribune ., pro-prætor in Asia 51 and Pompeian.
ST, suspect, 190.
E, more (in number), 17.
, month, 22.

MUNDA, in Spain (Bætica), where Cæsar conquered Pompey's sons 45 B.C.
MURENA, L. LICINIUS (1), a lieutenant of Sulla in the Mithridatic war, pro-prætor in Asia 84 B.C. (2) Son of preceding, served under his father and under Lucullus.
MYSTERIES, the secret rites celebrated at Eleusis in honour of Demeter and the Maid (Persephone).

NAUGHT, naughty, worthless, 316.
NAXOS, an island of the Ægean, in the Cyclades.
NEARCHUS, a Cretan, one of Alexander's officers, commanded the fleet on the Hydaspes 325 B.C., fought with Antigonus against Eumenes, 340.
NEOPTOLEMUS, son of Achilles, who was descended from Æacus.
NIPHATES, a mountain chain of Armenia (not a river).
NOINT, anoint, 113.
NONACRIS, a town of Arcadia.
NOTE, brand, 323.
NOVUM COMUM, Como.
NUMA, second legendary king of Rome, famous for piety and wisdom.
NYSA, name of several cities; one in India, at the NW. corner of the Punjab.

OCCUPY, use, 259.
OCTAVIUS, C., great-nephew of Julius Cæsar, on adoption by him took the name of C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus, 63 B.C.–A.D. 14. At Cæsar's murder he was but twenty, yet with great tact and skill organised the party of revenge, conquered his enemies, and after the battle of Actium, 31 B.C., became emperor. His imperial title Augustus was given him 27 B.C.
ŒNIADES, used here for the people of Œniadæ, a city in Acarmania, destroyed by the Ætolians.
OF, from, 97.
OFTEN, frequent, 66.
OLYMPIA, in Elis, seat of the great games, where were seen many noble temples, in chief that of Zeus.

OLYMPIAS, mother of Alexander the Great.

OLYMPIC GAMES, celebrated every four years at Olympia in Elis, for the honour of Zeus (Jupiter); these were the greatest games of all Greece.

OLYMPUS, on the borders of Thessaly, highest mountain of Greece.

OMNIGATHERUM, mixed rabble, 276.

ONESICRITUS, accompanied Alexander on his campaigns, and wrote a history of them.

OPPIUS, C., a friend of Cæsar, who wrote histories and biographies.

ORICUM, a port of Illyria.

ORITÆ, a tribe inhabiting upon the coast of Beluchistan.

OROMASDES, AHURA MAZDA, the good god of the Zoroastrian religion.

ORPHEUS, a legendary poet and musician, who was supposed to make the beasts, trees, and rocks dance to the sound of his harp.

OSTIA, the port of Rome.

OUGHT, owed, 108.

OVERHEAR, fail to hear, ignore, 369.

PALLAS ATHENA, goddess of the air, patroness of arts and crafts, and of the city of Athens.

PANATHENÆA, a yearly feast held at Athens in honour of Athena.

PANTELER, PANTLER, same as panterer, and keeper of the pantry, 36.

PAPHOS, in Cyprus.

PARIS, son of Priam, king of Troy, by abducting Helen was the cause of the Trojan War.

PARMENIO, a Macedonian general, served under both Philip and Alexander, assassinated by order of Alexander in 330 B.C. on a false suspicion of treachery.

PARTISAN, short spear, 82.

PASSING, surpassing, 5.

PASTLER, pastryman, 35.

PATROCLUS, bosom friend of Achilles, slain before Troy in Achilles armour. The line quoted on p. 86 was said by Achilles when a worsted foe sought mercy.

PELEUS, father of Achilles.

PELTING, trifling, 257.

PERDICCAS, of Macedon, one of Alexander's chief generals, after his death regent, opposed by a coalition of Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy, invaded Egypt, where he was killed.

PERGAMUS, a city of Mysia, in the N of Asia Minor.

PERICLES, an Athenian orator and democratic statesman, died 429 B.C.

PERINTH, PERINTHOS, a city in Thrace, on the Propontis.

PERIPATETICKS, the Walk-abouts, a school of philosophy founded by Aristotle, so called because he lectured while walking with his pupils.

PESSINUS, a city of Galatia.

PHAR, PHAROS, a lighthouse tower of Alexandria.

PHARSALIA, a city of Thessaly, where Cæsar conquered Pompey 49 B.C.

PHARSALIA, a plain in Thessaly, by Pharsalus, where Cæsar defeated Pompey 48 B.C.

PHASELIS, a seaport of Lycia.

PHILIP, founder of the Macedonian empire, 382–336 B.C.

PHILIP III. OF MACEDON, title given to Arrhidæus, a bastard half-brother of Alexander, called king after Alexander's death in 323 B.C., put to death by order of Olympias 317.

PHILIPPI, in Macedon, where Antony and Octavian conquered Brutus and Cassius, 42 B.C.

PHILOXENUS, of Cythera, a famous poet of the dithyramb, 435–380 B.C.

PHŒNIX, a mythical friend and dependent of Pereus.

PINDAR, a lyric poet of Thebes, about 522–442 B.C.

PLATFORM, plan, 42.

PLATO, the Athenian philosopher and friend of Socrates, 429–347 B.C. He taught in the Academia, hence his followers were called Academics.

POLYCRITUS, a historian who wrote of the East; nothing certain is known of him.

POLYEUCTUS, an Athenian orator, friend of Demosthenes, worked against the Macedonian party.

POLYSPERCHON, a Macedonian, officer of Alexander, appointed by Antipater to be regent after him, fought

against Cassander, supported Hercules, Alexander's son, against Cassander, persuaded to murder Hercules, and served with Cassander.

POMPÆDIUS SILO, Q., leader of the Marsians in the Social War. He fell 88 B.C., and this ended the war.

POMPEY, CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS, 106 B.C., one of the Triumvirate 59, one of the most successful of Sulla's generals, fought against Sertorius 76–71, Consul 70, popular hero, cleared the sea of pirates 67, took Jerusalem 63, killed in Egypt 48.

PONT, PONTUS, a kingdom in Asia Minor S. of the Black Sea.

PORUS, an Indian prince of part of the Punjab, fought bravely against Alexander 327 B.C., confirmed by Alexander in his kingdom, but in 321 put to death treacherously by Eudemus, one of the Greek generals.

POST ALONE, quite alone, 64.

POTAMON, a Lesbian rhetorician, and high in favour with Tiberius. In Mytilene still may be seen an inscription recording his honours, and the marble chair of state he set up in the theatre.

POTIDÆA, a city in Pallene, a promontory of Macedonia.

POLYPHEMUS, a one-eyed Cyclops, blinded by Ulysses.

PREASE, press, 343.

PRESENTLY, at once, 82.

PREVENT, forestall, 24.

PRINK, deck, 76.

PROROGUE, prolong, 159.

PUISSANT, powerful, 188.

PULPIT, platform, 168.

PYDNA, a city of Pieria in Macedonia.

PYTHAGORAS, of Samos, sixth century B.C., a famous philosopher. He believed in the transmigration of souls, and studied mathematics and music. He founded a religious brotherhood.

PYTHIA, the priestess of Apollo Pythian at Delphi.

QUAIL, relax, 123.

QUIDDITY, quibble, 114.

QUINCH, flinch, 288.

QUIT, acquit, 132.

QUITCH, flinch, 107.

RAMPER, rampart, 181.

RAMPIER, rampart, 252.

RAY, array, 143.

REEDIFY, rebuild, 56.

REMORSE, misgiving, 163.

ROMULUS, legendary founder and first king of Rome.

ROOM, post, 116.

RUBICON, a small river separating Gallia Cisalpina from Italy proper. In crossing this 49 B.C., Cæsar left his province in arms, and so defied the Senate.

RUFF, excitement, height, 125.

SALAMIS, (1) an island lying close off Attica, opposite to the harbour of Piræus, where the Greeks conquered Xerxes 480 B.C.; (2) a city in Cyprus.

SAMOS, an island off Cape Mycale in Asia Minor.

SAMOTHRACIA, a large island in the N. Ægean, with famous temple of the Cabiri.

SARDIS, capital of Lydia.

SATURN, an ancient Latin deity, under whom men were supposed to have enjoyed the Golden Age. His temple in the forum was the public treasury: part of it still stands.

SAVOUR, taste, smell, 5.

SCANTLY, scarcely, 95.

SERAPIS, an Egyptian god.

SEVERAL, separate, 96.

SHALM, SHAWM, a wind instrument of music, 104.

SHIFT, change clothes, 181.

SIGHT, number, quantity, 262

SIGNIORY, SEIGNIORY, lordship, 47.

SITH, since, 62.

SITHENCE, since, 68.

SKILL, matter, concern, 291.

SLAMPANT, trick, sleight, 276.

SLEIGHT, trick, 353.

SOCRATES, the celebrated dialectician and philosopher, an Athenian, 469–399 B.C. He asserted he was attended by a familiar spirit unseen, whose voice warned him what he should not do.

SODAIN, sudden, 178.
SODAINLY, suddenly, 16.
SOLDIERFARE, warfare, 243.
SOPHOCLES, second of the three great Athenian tragic poets, 495 – 406 B.C.
SOTION, an Alexandrian philosopher of the third century B.C.
SPARTACUS, leader of a gladiators' and slaves' revolt 73 B.C.; for two years victorious, he wasted Italy, and was then defeated and slain by Crassus. He was an able and truly great man.
SPERAGE, asparagus, 142.
SPIAL, spy, 308.
STAGIRA, a city in Macedonia.
STAND UPON, to be important, to be a duty, 78.
STATELY, high-handed, 270.
STOIC, the school of the Porch, a philosophical sect founded by Zeno of Citium.
STOMACH, pride, 305.
STOVE, hot room of a bath, 116.
STRABO, the geographer, ? 54 B.C. to A.D. 24, wrote a History and a Geography.
STRAIGHTLY, strictly, 173.
STRAIGHTNESS, narrowness, 252.
STRAIT, pass, 16.
STRAITS OF PELOPONNESUS, Isthmus of Corinth, 19.
STUFF, goods, 335.
SULLA, L. CORNELIUS, 138 B.C.–A.D. 78, a noble, profligate, but a great general and statesman, made himself dictator 82 B.C., when his proscriptions made Rome run with blood.
SUMPTER, beast of burden, 310.
SURE, to make, to betroth, 294.
SUSA, a city, where was the winter palace of the Persian kings.
SWIZZER, Swiss.
SYCOPHANT, in Greek, means one who brings a false accusation, usually for filthy lucre.
SYRACUSE, chief city of Sicily.

TABLE, tablet, 305.
TÆNARUS, a headland south of the Peloponnese.
TAKE ON, quarrel, 170.
TALENT, a sum of bullion £240 or so.
TAMYNÆ, a town in Eubœ Phocion conquered allies o 354 B.C.
TARENTUM, now Taranto, a south of Italy.
TARGET, shield, 136.
TELESTAS, an Attic poet dithyramb, fourth century
TELL, count, 325.
TERRACINA, Actium, on the Latium.
THAPSACUS, a city on the E at a ford.
THAPSUS, a city in Africa Cæsar finally defeated th peians, 46 B.C.
THEBES, capital of Bœotia.
THEMIS, personification of justice.
THEMISTOCLES, about 514–, an Athenian statesman and To him is due the credi victory at Salamis. He the city and the harbour of
THEODECTES, of Phaselis, rician and tragic poet, fou tury B.C.
THEODORUS, a Cyrenaic phil fourth century B.C.
THEOPHRASTUS, of Lesbos, philosopher and naturalist, great age 287 B.C.
THEOPOMPUS, of Chios, a G torian, fourth century B.C.
THERMOPYLÆ, a pass betwe saly and Locris.
THRASEA PÆTUS, P., a Sen Stoic philosopher of Ner executed on a false charge
TICKLE, ticklish, shaky, 151.
TOILS, snares, nets, 65.
TOWARDLY, promising, 118.
TRALLES, a city in Caria, on tary of the Mæander.
TRAVEL, travail, work, 66.
TREEN, wooden, 184.
TRUSS UP, tie up, put in b hang up, execute, 88.
TUSCULUM, a town near Ron
TYRE, a fortress port on t of Phœnicia, taken by A 332 B.C.

from Troy, and had
es in his homeward
ne was the escape
us, whose eye he put

sclose, 353.
nassailable, 91.
ares, 246.
nwieldy, unmanage-

arthage, in North

lish, 135.
worth, 255.
of love and beauty.
highest throw was
ame.

WAVE, waver, 164.

XANTHUS, chief city of Lycia.
XENOCRATES, 396–314 B.C., president of the Academic School after Speusippus.
XERXES, son of Darius, king of Persia, invaded Greece 480 B.C., his fleet and army conquered at Salamis 480, Platæa 479.

YERK, jerk, kick, 8.

ZELA, a city in the south of Pontus.
ZENO OF CITIUM, third century B.C., founder of the Stoic school of philosophy.

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